

Gal 4 Ed.
AN

Ecclesiastical History,
ANTIENT AND MODERN,
FROM
THE BIRTH OF CHRIST,
TO THE
BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT CENTURY:
IN WHICH

The Rise, Progress, and Variations of CHURCH POWER
ARE CONSIDERED

In their Connexion with the State of LEARNING and PHILOSOPHY,
and the POLITICAL HISTORY of EUROPE during that Period.

By the late learned
JOHN LAWRENCE MOSHEIM, D.D.
And Chancellor of the University of GOTTINGEN.

Translated from the ORIGINAL LATIN,
And accompanied with NOTES and CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES,
By ARCHIBALD MACLAINE, D.D.

To the whole is added AN ACCURATE INDEX.

The SECOND EDITION, Corrected and Improved by ADDITIONAL
NOTES, and several APPENDIXES.

V O L. II.

L O N D O N,
Printed for A. MILLAR; and sold by T. CADELL, in *The Strand*.
MDCCLXVIII.



T H E
S E V E N T H C E N T U R Y .

P A R T I .
The External HISTORY of the CHURCH.

C H A P T E R I .

*Concerning the prosperous events, which happened to the church
during this century.*

I. **I**N this century, the progress of Christianity was mightily accelerated both in the eastern and western hemispheres, and its divine light was diffused far and wide through the darkened nations. The Nestorians, who dwelt in *Syria*, *Persia*, and *India*, contributed much to its propagation in the east, by the zeal and diligence, the laborious efforts and indefatigable assiduity, with which they preached it to these fierce and barbarous nations, who lived in the remotest borders and deserts of *Asia*, and among whom, as we learn from authentic records, their ministry was crowned with remarkable success. It was by the labours of this sect, that the light of the gospel first penetrated into the immense empire of *China*, about the year 637, when *JESUIABAS* of *Gadala* was at the head of the Nestorians, as will appear probable to those who look upon as genuine the famous Chinese monument, which was discovered, at *Siganfu*, by the Jesuits during the last century [a]. Some, indeed, look upon this monument

C E N T .
V I I .
P A R T I .
The Christian religion introduced into *China*.

[a] This celebrated monument has been published and explained by several learned writers, particularly by *KIRCHER*, in his *China Illustrata*, p. 53; by *MULLER*, in a treatise published at *Berlin* in 1672; by *EUSEBE RENAUDOT*, in his *Relations anciennes des*
VOL. II. B to

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T I.

The Eng-
lish convert-
ed.

to be a mere forgery of the Jesuites, though, perhaps, without reason; there are, however, other unexceptionable proofs, that the northern parts of *China*, even before this century, abounded with Christians, who, for many succeeding ages, were under the inspection of a Metropolitan sent them by the Chaldean or Nestorian patriarch [b].

II. The attention and activity of the Greeks were so entirely occupied by their intestine divisions, that they were little solicitous about the progress of Christianity. In the west, AUGUSTIN laboured to extend the limits of the church, and to spread the light of the gospel among the Anglo-Saxons; and, after his death, other monks were sent from *Rome* to exert themselves in the same glorious cause. Their efforts were attended with the desired success, and the efficacy of their labours was manifested in the conversion of the six Anglo-Saxon kings, who had hither-

Indes et de la Chine, de deux voyageurs Mahometans, p. 228—271. published at *Paris* in the year 1718, in 8vo; and by ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. Orient. Clement. Vatican.* tom. iii. part. II. cap. iv. § 7. p. 538. We were promised a still more accurate edition of this famous monument by the learned THEOPH. SIGIFRED BAYER, the greatest proficient of this age in Chinese erudition; but his death has blasted our expectations. For my part, I see no reason to doubt of the genuineness of this monument, nor can I understand what advantage could redound to the jesuits from the invention of such a fable. See LIBON, *Singularites Historiques et Litteraires*, tom. ii. p. 500.

[b] See RENAUDOT, l. c. p. 56. 68, &c. ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. &c.* cap. ix. p. 522; the learned BAYER, in his Preface to his *Museum Sinicum*, p. 84. assures us, that he has in his hands such proofs of the truth of what is here affirmed, as puts the matter beyond all doubt. See on this subject a very learned Dissertation published by M. DE GUIGNES in the xxxth Vol. of the *Memoires de Litterature tires des Registres de l'Academie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, in which he proves that the Christians were settled in China so early as the VIIth Century. He remarks, indeed, that the Nestorians and other Christians were for a long time confounded, in the Chinese annals, with the worshippers of Fo an Indian Idol, whose rites were introduced into China about 65 years after the birth of Christ; and that this circumstance has deceived *De la Croze*, *Beaufobre*, and some other learned men, who have raised specious objections against the hypothesis that maintains the early introduction of Christianity into this Great Empire. A reader, properly informed, will lend little or no attention to the account given of this matter by Voltaire in the first volume of his *Essai sur l'Histoire Generale*, &c. A Poet, who recounts facts or denies them without deigning to produce his authorities, must not expect to meet with the credit that is due to an Historian.

to remained under the darkness of the ancient superstitions, to the Christian faith, which gained ground by degrees, and was, at length, embraced universally throughout all Britain [c]. We are not, however, to imagine, that this universal change in favour of Christianity was wholly due to the discourses of the Roman monks and doctors; for other causes were certainly instrumental in accomplishing this great event. And it is not to be doubted, that the influence which some Christian queens and ladies of high distinction had upon their husbands, and the pains they took to convert them to Christianity, as also the severe and rigorous laws that were afterwards enacted against idolaters [d], contributed much to the progress of the gospel.

CENT.
VII.
PART I.

III. Many of the British, Scotch, and Irish ecclesiastics travelled among the Batavian, Belgic, and German nations, with the pious intention of propagating the knowledge of the truth, and of erecting churches and forming religious establishments every where. This was the true reason which induced the Germans, in aftertimes, to found so many convents for the Scotch and Irish, of which some are yet in being [e].

As also the
Gauls, the
Suevi, the
Frislan-
ders, the
Franks, and
the Helvetii,

COLUMBAN, an Irish monk, seconded by the labours of a few companions, had happily extirpated, in the preceding century, the ancient superstitions in Gaul, and the parts adjacent, where idolatry had taken the deepest root; he also carried the lamp of celestial truth among the Suevi, the Boii, the Franks, and other German nations [f], and persevered in these pious and useful labours until his death, which happened A. D. 615. St. GAL, who was one of his companions, preached the gospel to the Helvetii, and the Suevi [g]. St. KILIAN set out from Scotland, the place of his nativity, and exercised the ministerial function with such

[c] BEDÆ *Historia Ecclesiast. Gentis Anglor.* lib. ii. cap. iii. p. 91. cap. xiv. p. 116. lib. iii. cap. xxi. p. 162, &c. edit. Chifletii. RAPIN THOYRAS, tom. i. p. 227.

[d] WILKINS'S *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae*, tom. i. p. 222.

[e] See the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. ii. Febr. p. 362.

[f] MABILLON, *Acta Sanctor. Ordinis Benedicti*, tom. ii. p. 560. tom. iii. p. 72. 339, 500. ADAMANI lib. iii. *De S. Columbano*, in CANISII *Lectio. Antiq.* tom. i. p. 674.

[g] WALAFRIDI STRABONIS *vit. S. Galli* in MABILLON. *Actis S. Ord. Benedicti*, tom. ii. p. 228. CANISII *Lectio. Antiq.* tom. i. p. 783.

CENT.
VII.
PART I.

success among the eastern Franks, that vast numbers of them embraced Christianity [b]. Towards the conclusion of this century, the famous WILLIBRORD, by birth an Anglo-Saxon, accompanied with eleven of his countrymen, viz. SUIDBERT, WIGBERT, ACCA, WILIBALD, UNIBALD, LEBWIN, the two EWALDS, WERENFRID, MARCELLIN, and ADALBERT, crossed over into *Batavia*, which lay opposite to *Britain*, in order to convert the Frielanders to the religion of JESUS. From thence, in the year 692, they went into *Fosteland*, which most writers look upon to have been the same with the isle of *Helgoland*, or *Heiligland*; but being cruelly treated there by RADBOD, king of the Frielanders, who put WIGBERT, one of the company, to death, they departed hence for *Cimbria*, and the adjacent parts of *Denmark*. They, however, returned to *Friesland* A. D. 693, and were much more successful than they had formerly been in opposing the ancient superstitions, and propagating the knowledge of the truth. WILLEBRORD was ordained, by the Roman pontif, archbishop of *Wildeburg*, now *Utrecht*, and died among the Batavians in a good old age: while his associates continued to spread the light of the gospel among the Westphalians, and the neighbouring countries [i].

The judgment we are to form of these apostles.

These voyages, and many others, undertaken in the cause of CHRIST, carry, no doubt, a specious appearance of piety and zeal; but the impartial and attentive inquirer after truth will find it impossible to form the same favourable judgment of them all, or to applaud, without distinction, the motives that animated these laborious missionaries. That the designs of some of them were truly pious, and their characters without reproach, is unquestionably certain. But it is equally certain, that this was neither the case of them all, nor even of the greatest part of them. Many of them discovered, in the course of their ministry, the most turbulent passions, and dishonoured the glorious cause in which they were engaged, by their arrogance and ambition, their avarice and cruelty. They abused the

[b] *Vita S. KILIANI in CANISII Lectio. Antiq. tom. iii. p. 171.* JO. PET. DE LUDEWIG, *Scriptores rerum Wurzburgens.* p. 966.

[i] *ALCUINI vita Willibrordi in MABILLON. Actis SS. Ord. Benedict. Sac. iii. part. I. p. 603.* JO. MOLLERI *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. ii. p. 980.

power, which they had received from the Roman pontifs, of forming religious establishments among the superstitious nations; and, instead of gaining souls to CHRIST, they usurped a despotic dominion over their obsequious proselytes; and excercised a princely authority over the countries where their ministry had been successful. Nor are we to consider as entirely groundless, the suspicions of those who alledge, that many of the monks, desirous of rule and authority, concealed their vices under the mask of religion, and endured, for a certain time, the austerities of a rigid mortification and abstinence, merely with a view to rise in the church to the episcopal dignity.

V. The conversion of the Jews seemed at a stand in this century; few or none of that obstinate nation embraced the gospel in consequence of an inward conviction of its truth, though in many places they were barbarously compelled, by the Christians, to make an outward and feigned profession of their faith in CHRIST. The emperor HERACLIUS, incensed against that miserable people by the insinuations, as it is said, of the Christian doctors, persecuted them in a cruel manner, and ordered multitudes of them to be inhumanly dragged into the Christian churches, in order to be baptized by violence and compulsion [k]. The same odious method of converting was practised in *Spain* and *Gaul*, by the monarchs of those nations, against which even the bishops of *Rome* expressed their displeasure and indignation. Such were the horrid and abominable practices to which an ignorance of the true spirit of Christianity, and the barbarous genius of this age, led the heralds of that divine religion, which was designed to spread abroad CHARITY upon earth, and to render mankind truly and rationally FREE.

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T I.

The Jews
compelled to
embrace
Christianity.

C H A P. II.

Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the church during this century.

I. **T**HE Christians suffered less in this, than in the preceding centuries. They were sometimes persecuted by the Persian monarchs, but still recovered their

[k] EUTYCHII *Annales Ecclesiast. Alexandr.* tom. ii. p. 212.

CENT.
VII.
PART I.

Mahomet
appears.

former tranquillity after transitory scenes of violence and oppression. In *England*, the new converts to Christianity suffered various calamities under the petty kings, who governed in those boisterous times; but these kings embraced the gospel themselves, and then the sufferings of the Christians ceased. In the eastern countries, and particularly in *Syria* and *Palæstine*, the Jews, at certain times, attacked the Christians with a merciless fury [l]; but, however, with so little success, that they always had reason to repent of their temerity, which was severely chastised. It is true, the church had other enemies, even those, who, under the treacherous profession of Christianity, were laying secret schemes for the restoration of Paganism; but they were too weak and too inconsiderable to form any attempts that could endanger the Christian cause.

II. But a new and most powerful enemy to the Christian cause started up in *Arabia* A. D. 612, under the reign of HERACLIUS. This was MAHOMET, an illiterate man [m], but endowed by nature with the most flowing and attractive eloquence, and with a vast and penetrating genius [n], distinguished also by the advantages he enjoyed from the place of his birth, which added a lustre to his name and his undertakings. This adventurous impostor declared publicly, that he was commissioned, by God, to

[l] EUTYCHII *Annales*, tom. ii. p. 236. JO. HENR. HOTTINGERI *Historia Orientalis*, lib. i. cap. iii. p. 129.

[m] MAHOMET himself expressly declared, that he was totally ignorant of all branches of learning and science, and was even unable either to write or read: and his followers have drawn from this ignorance an argument in favour of the divinity of his mission, and of the religion he taught. It is, however, scarcely credible, that his ignorance was such as it is here described, and several of his sect have called in question the declarations of their chief relating to this point. See CHARDIN, *Voyages en Perse*, tom. iv. p. 33, 34. If we consider that MAHOMET carried on, for a considerable time, a successful commerce in *Arabia*, and the adjacent countries, this alone will convince us, that he must have been, in some measure, instructed in the arts of reading, writing and arithmetic, with the knowledge of which a merchant cannot dispense.

[n] The writers, to whom we are indebted for accounts of the life and religion of MAHOMET, are enumerated by FABRICIUS, in his *Delectus et Syllabus argumentor. pro veritate relig. Christianæ*, cap. l. p. 733. To which we may add, BOULAINVILLIERS, *Vie de Mahomet*, published at *London*, in 8vo, in the year 1730, and which deserves rather the character of a romance, than of a history; GAG-

destroy

destroy polytheism and idolatry, and then to reform, first the religion of the Arabians, and afterwards the Jewish and Christian worship. For these purposes he delivered a new law, which is known by the name of the *Koran* [o], or *Alcoran*; and having gained several victories over his enemies, he compelled an incredible multitude of persons, both in *Arabia* and the neighbouring nations, to receive his doctrine, and range themselves under his standards. Elated with this rapid and unexpected success, he extended yet further his ambitious views, and formed the vast and arduous project of founding an empire. Here again, success crowned his adventurous efforts; and his plan was executed with such intrepidity and impudence, that he died master of all *Arabia*, besides several adjacent provinces.

III. It is, perhaps, impossible at this time, to form such an accurate judgment of the character, views, and conduct of MAHOMET, as would entirely satisfy the curiosity of a sagacious inquirer after truth. To give entire credit to the Grecian writers in this matter, is neither prudent nor safe, since their bitter resentment against this

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T I.

What judgment we are to form of Mahomet.

NIER, *Vie de Mahomet*, printed at *Amsterdam*, in two volumes 8vo, in 1732, and commendable both for the learning and candour with which it appears to have been composed; and, above all, the most learned and judicious SALE's *Preliminary Discourse*, prefixed to his *English translation of the Koran*, § 2. p. 37.

[o] For an account of the *Koran*, see principally the learned SALE's Preface to his English translation of that work. See also VERTOT's *Discours sur l'Alcoran*, which is subjoined to the third volume of his *History of the Knights of Malta*, and CHARDIN's *Voyages en Perse*, tom. ii. p. 281. The book, which the Mahometans call the *Koran*, or *Alcoran*, is composed of several papers and discourses of MAHOMET, which were discovered and collected after his death, and is by no means that same law, whose excellence MAHOMET vaunted so highly. That some parts of the true *Koran* may be copied in the modern one, is indeed very possible; but that the *Koran*, or *Law*, given by Mahomet to the Arabians, is entirely distinct from the modern *Alcoran*, is manifest from this, that in the latter, MAHOMET appeals to and extols the former, and therefore they must be two different compositions. May it not be conjectured, that the true *Koran* was an Arabic poem, which MAHOMET recited to his followers without giving it to them in writing, ordering them only to commit it to their memory? Such were the laws of the Druids in *Gaul*, and such also those of the Indians, which the Bramins receive by oral tradition, and get by heart.

CENT.
VII.
PART I.

hostile invader led them to invent, without scruple or hesitation, fables and calumnies to blacken his character. The Arabians, on the other hand, are as little to be trusted to; as their historians are destitute of veracity and candour, conceal the vices and enormities of their chief, and represent him as the most divine person that ever appeared upon earth, and as the best gift of God to the world. Add to this, that a considerable part of MAHOMET's life, and indeed that part of it that would be the most proper to lead us to a true knowledge of his character, and of the motives from which he acted, is absolutely unknown. It is highly probable, that he was so deeply affected with the odious and abominable superstition which dishonoured his country, that it threw him into a certain fanatical disorder of mind, and made him really imagine that he was supernaturally commissioned to reform the religion of the Arabians, and to restore among them the worship of one God. It is, however, at the same time, undoubtedly evident, that, when he saw his enterprize crowned with the desired success, he made use of impious frauds to establish the work he had so happily begun, deluded the giddy and credulous multitude by various artifices, and even forged celestial visions to confirm his authority and remove the difficulties that frequently arose in the course of his affairs. This mixture of imposture is, by no means, incompatible with a spirit of enthusiasm; for the fanatic, through the unguided warmth of zeal, looks often upon the artifices, that are useful to his cause, as pious and acceptable to the Supreme Being, and therefore deceives when he can do it with impunity [p]. The religion which MAHOMET taught, is certainly different from what it would have been, if he had met with no opposition in the propagation of his opinions. The difficulties he had to encounter obliged him to yield, in some respects, to the reigning systems; the obstinate attach-

[p] This, methinks, is the best way of adjusting the controversy that has been carried on by some learned men upon this curious question, viz. Whether MAHOMET was a fanatic, or an impostor? See BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article MAHOMET. OCKLEY's *Conquest of Syria, Persia, and Egypt by the Saracens*, vol. 1. p. 62. SALE's Preface to his translation of the *Alcoran*, § 2. p. 39.

ment

ment of the Arabians to the religion of their ancestors on the one hand, and the fond hope of gaining over to his cause both the Jews and Christians on the other, engaged, no doubt, this fanatical impostor to admit into his system several tenets, which he would have rejected without hesitation, had he been free from the restraints of ambition and artifice.

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T I.

IV. The rapid success, which attended the propagation of this new religion, was owing to causes that are plain and evident, and must remove, or rather prevent, our surprize, when they are attentively considered. The terror of MAHOMET's arms, and the repeated victories which were gained by him and his successors, were, no doubt, the irresistible argument that persuaded such multitudes to embrace his religion, and submit to his dominion. Besides, his law was artfully and marvellously adapted to the corrupt nature of man; and, in a more particular manner, to the manners and opinions of the eastern nations, and the vices to which they were naturally addicted; for the articles of faith which it proposed were few in number, and extremely simple; and the duties it required were neither many, nor difficult, nor such as were incompatible with the empire of appetites and passions [q]. It is to be observed further, that the gross ignorance, under which the Arabians, Syrians, Persians, and the greatest part of the eastern nations, laboured at this time, rendered many an easy prey to the artifice and eloquence of this bold adventurer. To these causes of the progress of Mahometism, we may add the bitter dissensions and cruel animosities that reigned among the Christian sects, particularly the Greeks, Nestorians, Eutychians, and Monophysites, dissensions that filled a great part of the east with carnage, assassinations, and such detestable enormities, as rendered the very name of Christianity odious to many. We might add here, that the Monophysites and Nestorians, full of resentment against the Greeks, from whom they had suffered the bitterest and most injurious treatment, assisted the Arabians

The causes which contributed to the rapid progress of the Mahometan religion.

[q] See RELAND, *De religione Mahumetica*. SALE's *Preliminary discourse*.

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T I.

in the conquest of several provinces [r], into which, of consequence, the religion of MAHOMET was afterwards introduced. Other causes of the sudden progress of that religion, will naturally occur to such as consider attentively its spirit and genius, and the state of the world at this time.

The treatment which the Christians receive from the Mahometans.

V. After the death of MAHOMET, which happened A. D. 632, his followers, led on by an amazing intrepidity, and a fanatical fury, and assisted, as we have already observed, by those Christians whom the Greeks had treated with such severity, extended their conquests beyond the limits of *Arabia*, and subdued *Syria*, *Persia*, *Egypt*, and other countries under their dominion. On the other hand, the Greeks, exhausted with civil discords, and wholly occupied by intestine troubles, were unable to stop these intrepid conquerors in their rapid career.

For some time these enthusiastic invaders used their prosperity with moderation, and treated the Christians, and particularly those among them who rejected the decrees of the councils of *Ephesus* and *Chalcedon*, with the utmost indulgence and lenity. But as an uninterrupted course of success and prosperity renders, too generally, corrupt mortals insolent and imperious, so the moderation of this victorious sect degenerated, by degrees, into severity; and they treated the Christians, at length, rather like slaves than citizens, loading them with unsupportable taxes, and obliging them to submit to a variety of vexatious and oppressive measures.

The Mahometans divided.

VI. The progress, however, of this triumphant sect received a considerable check by the civil dissensions which arose among them immediately after the death of MAHOMET. ABUBEKER and ALI, the former the father-in-law, and the latter the son-in-law of this pretended prophet, aspired both to succeed him in the empire which he had erected. Upon this arose a tedious and cruel contest, whose flame reached to succeeding ages, and produced that schism which divided the Mahometans into two great factions, whose separation not only gave rise to a variety of opinions and rites, but also excited the

[r] See OCKLEY'S *Conquest of Syria, Persia, and Egypt by the Saracens*, the first part of which was published at London in the year 1708, and the second in 1717.

most implacable hatred, and the most deadly animosities. Of these factions, the one acknowledged ABUBEKER as the true *calif*, or successor of MAHOMET, and its members were distinguished by the name of Sonnites; while the other adhered to ALI, and were known by the title of Schiites [s]. Both however adhered to the Alcoran as a divine law, and the rule of faith and manners; to which, indeed, the former added, by way of interpretation, the *sonna*, i. e. a certain law which they looked upon as descended from MAHOMET by oral tradition, and which the Schiites refused to admit. Among the Sonnites, or followers of ABUBEKER, we are to reckon the Turks, Tartars, Arabians, Africans, and the greatest part of the Indian Mahometans; whereas the Persians and the subjects of the Grand Mogul are generally considered as the followers of ALI; though the latter indeed seem rather to observe a strict neutrality in this contest.

Besides these two grand factions, there are other subordinate sects among the Mahometans, which dispute with warmth concerning several points of religion, though without violating the rules of mutual toleration [t]. Of these sects there are four, which far surpass the rest in point of reputation and importance.

[s] See RELAND, *De religione Turcica*, lib. i. p. 36. 70. 74. 85. CHARDIN's *Voyage en Perse*, tom. ii. p. 236.

[t] For an account of the Mahometan sects, see HOTTINGER, *Histor. Orient.* lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 340. RICAUT, *Etat de l' Empire Ottoman*, livr. ii. p. 242. CHARDIN's *Voyages en Perse*, tom. ii. p. 263. SALE's *Preliminary Discourse*, § 8. p. 151.

P A R T II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during this century.

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T II.

The state
of learning.

NOTHING can equal the ignorance and darkness that reigned in this century ; the most impartial and accurate account of which will appear incredible to those who are unacquainted with the productions of this barbarous period. Any remains of learning and philosophy that yet survived, were, a few particular cases excepted, to be found principally among the Latins, in the obscure retreats of cloistered monks. The monastic institutions prohibited the election of any abbot to the head of a convent, who was not a man of learning, or, at least, endowed with a tolerable measure of the erudition of the times. The monks were obliged to consecrate certain hours every day to reading and study : and, that they might improve this appointment to the most advantageous purposes, there were, in most of the monasteries, stated times marked out, at which they were to assemble, in order to communicate to each other the fruits of their study, and to discuss the matters upon which they had been reading [a]. The youth also, who were destined for the service of the church, were obliged to prepare themselves for their ministry by a diligent application to study ; and in this they were directed by the monks, one of whose principal occupations it was to preside over the education of the rising priesthood.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that all these institutions were of little use to the advancement of solid learning, or of rational theology, because very few in these days were acquainted with the true nature of the liberal arts and sciences, or with the important ends which they were adapted to serve ; and the greatest part of those

[a] See MABILLON, *Acta SS. Ord. Benedicti*, tom. ii. p. 479. 513. who

who were looked upon as learned men, threw away their time in reading the marvellous lives of a parcel of fanatical saints, instead of employing it in the perusal of well-chosen and excellent authors. They, who distinguished themselves most by their taste and genius, carried their studies little further than the works of AUGUSTIN and GREGORY the GREAT; and it is of scraps collected out of these two writers, and patched together without much uniformity, that the best productions of this century are entirely composed.

II. The sciences enjoyed no degree of protection, at this time, from kings and princes, nor did they owe any thing to men of high and eminent stations in the empire. On the other hand, the schools which had been committed to the care and inspection of the bishops, whose ignorance and indolence were now become enormous, began to decline apace, and were, in many places, fallen into ruin [b]. The bishops in general were so illiterate, that few of that body were capable of composing the discourses which they delivered to the people. Such of them as were not totally destitute of genius, composed out of the writings of AUGUSTIN and GREGORY a certain number of insipid homilies, which they divided between themselves and their stupid colleagues, that they might not be obliged through incapacity to discontinue preaching the doctrines of Christianity to their people, as appears evident by the examples of CÆSARIUS bishop of *Arles*, and ELOI bishop of *Noyon* [c]. There is yet extant a summary of theological doctrine, which was unskilfully compiled by TAION bishop of *Saragossa*, from the writings of AUGUSTIN and GREGORY; and which was so highly exalted in this illiterate age, that its author was called, by the rest of the bishops, the *true salt of the earth*, and a divine light that was sent to illuminate the world [d]. Many such instances of the ignorance and barbarity of this century will occur to those who have any acquaintance with the

The ignorance of the bishops.

[b] *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 428.

[c] In the original we read ELIGIUS *Noviomagensis*, which is a mistake either of the author, or printer. It is probable that *Noviomagensis* has slipped from the pen of Dr. MOSHEIM, in the place of *Noviodunensis*; for ELOI was bishop of *Noyon*, and not of *Nimuegen*.

[d] MABILLON, *Annales veteris ævi*, tom. i. p. 42.

writers

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T II.

The Sci-
ences and
the art of
writing sunk
into barbari-
ty and cor-
ruption.

The fate
of philoso-
phy.

writers it produced, *England*, it is true, was happier in this respect than the other nations of Europe, which was principally owing to THEODORE of *Tarsus*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak afterwards, who was appointed archbishop of *Canterbury*, and contributed much to introduce, among the English, a certain taste for literary pursuits, and to excite in that kingdom a zeal for the advancement of learning [e].

III. In *Greece*, the fate of the sciences was truly lamentable. A turgid eloquence, and an affected pomp and splendor of style, which cast a perplexing obscurity over subjects in themselves the most clear and perspicuous, was now the highest point of perfection to which both prose writers and poets aspired. The Latin eloquence was still vastly below that of the Greeks; it had not spirit enough even to be turgid, and, a few compositions excepted, was sunk to the very lowest degree of barbarity and corruption. Both the Greek and Latin writers, who attempted historical compositions, degraded most miserably that important science. MOSCHUS and SOPHRONIUS among the former; and among the latter BRAULIO, JONAS an *Hibernian*, AUDOENUS, DADO, and ADAMANNUS, wrote the lives of several saints; or rather a heap of insipid and ridiculous fables, void of the least air of probability, and without the smallest tincture of eloquence. The Greeks related, without discernment or choice, the most vulgar reports that were handed about concerning the events of ancient times: and hence that multitude of absurd fables, which the Latins afterwards copied from them with the utmost avidity.

IV. Among the Latins philosophy was at its lowest ebb. If there were any that retained some faint reluctance to abandon it entirely, such confined their studies to the writings of BOETIUS and CASSIODORUS, from which they committed to memory a certain number of phrases and sentences; and that was all their philosophical stock. The Greeks, abandoning PLATO to the monks, gave themselves entirely up to the direction of ARISTOTLE, and studied, with eagerness, the subtilties of his logic, which

[e] WILKINS'S *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae*, tom. i. p. 42. CONRINGII *Antiquitat. Academicæ*, p. 277.

were

were of signal use in the controversies carried on between the Monophysites, the Nestorians, and Monothelites. All these different sects called the Stagirite to their assistance, when they were to plead their cause and to defend their doctrines. Hence it was, that JAMES, bishop of *Edessa*, who was a Monophysite, translated, in this century, the dialectics of ARISTOTLE into the Syriac language [f].

CENT.
VII.
PART II.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the doctors and ministers of the church, and its form of government, during this century.

I. THE disputes about pre-eminence, that had so long subsisted between the bishops of *Rome* and *Constantinople*, proceeded, in this century, to such violent lengths, as laid the foundations of that deplorable schism, which afterwards separated the Greek and Latin churches. The most learned writers, and those who are most remarkable for their knowledge of antiquity, are generally agreed that BONIFACE III engaged PHOCAS, that abominable tyrant, who waded to the imperial throne through the blood of the emperor MAURITIUS, to take from the bishop of *Constantinople* the title of *œcumenical*, or *universal bishop*, and to confer it upon the Roman pontif. They relate this, however, upon the sole authority of BARONIUS; for none of the ancient writers have mentioned it. If, indeed, we are to give credit to ANASTASIUS and PAUL DEACON [g], something like what we have now related was transacted by PHOCAS; for when the bishops of *Constantinople* maintained that their church was not only equal in dignity and authority to that of *Rome*, but also the head of all the Christian churches, this tyrant opposed their pretensions, and granted the pre-eminence to the church of *Rome*: and thus was the papal supremacy first introduced.

The disputes about pre-eminence between the bishops of *Rome* and *Constantinople*.

[f] See ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. i. p. 498.

[g] ANASTASIUS, *De vitis Pontificum.* PAUL. DIACON. *De rebus gestis Longobard.* lib. iv. cap. xxxvii. in MURATORI *Scriptor. rerum Italicar.* tom. i. part. I. p. 46.

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T II.

The su-
premacy of
the former
opposed by
many.

II. The Roman pontiffs used all sorts of methods to maintain and enlarge the authority and pre-eminence, which they had acquired by a grant from the most odious tyrant that ever disgraced the annals of history. We find, however, in the most authentic accounts of the transactions of this century, that not only several emperors and princes, but also whole nations, opposed the ambitious views of the bishops of *Rome*. The Byzantine history, and the *Formulary* of MARCULFUS, contain many proofs of the influence, which the civil magistrate yet retained in religious matters, and of the subordination of the Roman pontiffs to the regal authority. It is true, the Roman writers affirm, that CONSTANTINE POGONATUS abdicated the privilege of confirming, by his approbation, the election of the bishop of that city; and, as a proof of this, they allege a passage of ANASTASIUS, in which it is said, that, according to an edict of POGONATUS, *the pontiff, who should be elected, was to be ordained immediately, and without the least delay* [b]. But every one must see, that this passage is insufficient to prove what these writers assert with such confidence. It is however certain, that this emperor abated, some say remitted, the sum, which, since the time of THEODORIC, the bishops of *Rome* had been obliged to pay to the imperial treasury before they could be ordained, or have their election confirmed [i]

The ancient Britons and Scots persisted long in the maintenance of their religious liberty; and neither the threats nor promises of the legates of *Rome* could engage them to submit to the decrees and authority of the ambitious pontif, as appears manifestly from the testimony of BEDE. The churches of *Gaul* and *Spain* attributed

[b] ANASTASII *vit. Pontif. in Bened.* p. 146. in MURATORII *Scriptor. rerum Italicar.* tom. iii.

[i] ANASTAS. *vit. Pontif. in Agathone*, p. 144. compared with MASCOVII *Hist. German.* tom. ii. p. 121. in the annotations. It will not be amiss to observe here, that by the same edict, which diminished the ordination-money paid by the bishops of *Rome* to the emperor, CONSTANTINE resumed the power of confirming the election of the pope, which his predecessors had invested in the exarchs of *Ravenna*; so that the bishop elect was not to be ordained till his election was notified to the court of *Constantinople*, and the imperial decree confirming it was received by the electors at *Rome*. See ANASTASIUS, in his life of AGATHO.

as much authority to the bishop of *Rome*, as they thought suitable to their own dignity, and consistent with their interests; nay, even in *Italy*, his supreme authority was obstinately rejected, since the bishop of *Ravenna*, and other prelates, refused an implicit submission to his orders [k]. Besides all this, multitudes of private persons expressed publicly, and without the least hesitation, their abhorrence of the vices, and particularly of the lordly ambition, of the Roman pontiffs; and it is highly probable, that the *Valdenses* or *Vaudois* had already, in this century, retired into the vallies of *Piedmont*, that they might be more at their liberty to oppose the tyranny of those imperious prelates [l].

Vices of
the clergy.

III. The progress of vice among the subordinate rulers and ministers of the church was, at this time, truly deplorable; neither bishops, presbyters, deacons, nor even the cloistered monks, were exempt from the general contagion, as appears from the unanimous confession of all the writers of this century, that are worthy of credit. In those very places, that were consecrated to the advancement of piety, and the service of God, there was little else to be seen than ghostly ambition, insatiable avarice, pious frauds, intolerable pride, and a supercilious contempt of the natural rights of the people, with many other vices still more enormous. There reigned also in many places the most bitter dissensions between the bishops and the monks. The former had employed the greedy hands of the latter to augment the episcopal treasure, and to draw contributions from all parts to support them in their luxury, and the indulgence of their lusts. The monks perceiving this, and also unwilling to serve the bishops in such a dishonourable character, fled for refuge to the emperors and princes, under whose civil jurisdiction they lived; and afterwards, for their further security, had recourse to the protection of the Roman pontif [m]. This protection they readily obtained, and

[k] See GEDDES, *Miscellaneous Tracts*, tom. ii. p. 6.

[l] See ANTOINE LEGER'S *Histoire des Eglises Vaudoises*, livr. i. p. 15.

[m] See LAUNOII *Affertio inquisitionis in Chartam Immunitatis S. Germani*, Opp. tom. iii. part. I. p. 50. BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. ii. p. 159. tom. iv. p. 108. MURATORII *Antiqu. Italic.* tom. ii. p. 944. 949.

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T II.

the imperious pontifs, always fond of exerting their authority, exempted, by degrees, the monastic orders from the jurisdiction of the bishops. The monks, in return for this important service, devoted themselves wholly to advance the interests, and to maintain the dignity, of the bishop of *Rome*. They made his cause their own, and represented him as a sort of God to the ignorant multitude, over whom they had gained a prodigious ascendant by the notion that generally prevailed of the sanctity of the monastic order. It is, at the same time, to be observed, that this *immunity* of the monks was a fruitful source of licentiousness and disorder, and occasioned the greatest part of the vices with which they were afterwards so justly charged. Such, at least, is the judgment of the best writers upon this subject [n].

The state of
the monks.

IV. In the mean time the monks were every where in high repute, and their cause was accompanied with the most surprizing success, particularly among the Latins, through the protection and favour of the Roman pontif, and their pharisaical affectation of uncommon piety and devotion. The heads of families, striving to surpass each other in their zeal for the propagation and advancement of monkery, dedicated their children to God by shutting them up in convents, and devoting them to a solitary life, which they looked upon as the highest felicity [o]; nor did they fail to send with these innocent victims a rich dowry. Abandoned profligates, who had passed their days in the most enormous pursuits, and whose guilty consciences filled them with terror and remorse, were comforted with the delusive hopes of obtaining pardon, and making atonement for their crimes, by leaving the greatest part of their fortune to some monastic society. Multitudes, impelled by the unnatural dictates of a gloomy superstition, deprived their children of fertile lands and rich patrimonies, in favour of the monks, by whose prayers they hoped to render the Deity propitious. Several ecclesiastics laid down rules for the direction of the monastic orders. Those among the Latins, who undertook

[n] See LAUNOII *Examen privilegii S. Germani*, tom. iii. part I. p. 282. WILKINS'S *Concilia Magnæ Britannia*, tom. i. p. 43, 44. 49. &c.

[o] GERVAIS, *Histoire de l'Abbé Suger*, tom. i. p. 9—16.

this

this pious task, were FRUCTUOSUS, ISIDORE, JOHANNES GERUNDINENSIS, and COLUMBA [p]. The rule of discipline, prescribed by St. BENEDICT, was not as yet so universally followed as to exclude all others.

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T II.

V. The writers of this age, who distinguished themselves by their genius or erudition, were very few in number. Among the Greeks, the first rank is due to MAXIMUS, a monk, who disputed with great obstinacy and warmth against the Monothelites, composed some illustrations upon the Holy Scriptures, and was, upon the whole, a man of no mean capacity, though unhappy through the impatience and violence of his natural temper.

The Greek
writers,

ISYCHIUS, bishop of *Jerusalem*, explained several books of scripture [q]; and left behind him several *Homilies*, and some productions of less importance.

DOROTHEUS, abbot of *Palestine*, acquired a considerable name by his *Ascetic Dissertations*, in which he laid down a plan of monastic life and manners.

ANTIOCHUS, a monk of SEBA in *Palestine*, and a monk of a very superstitious complexion, composed a *Pandect of the Holy Scriptures*, i. e. a summary or system of the Christian doctrine, which is by no means worthy of the highest commendation.

SOPHRONIUS, bishop of *Jerusalem*, was rendered illustrious, and attracted the veneration of succeeding ages, by the controversies he carried on against those who, at this time, were branded with the name of Heretics; and particularly against the Monothelites, of whose doctrine he was the first opposer, and also the fomentor of the dispute which it occasioned [r].

There are yet extant several *Homilies*, attributed to ANDREW bishop of *Crete*, which are destitute of true piety and eloquence, and which are moreover considered by some writers as entirely spurious.

GREGORY, surnamed PISIDES, deacon of *Constantinople*, besides the *History of Heraclius and the Avars*, composed several poems, and other pieces of too little moment to deserve mention.

[p] LUCÆ HOLSTENII *Codex Regular*. tom. ii. p. 225.

[q] See SIMON, *Critique de la Bibliotheque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques de M. DU PIN*, tom. i. p. 261.

[r] See the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. ii. *Martij ad d. xi.* p. 65.

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T II.

The Latin
writers.

THEODORE, abbot of *Raithu*, published a book, which is still extant, against those sects who seemed to introduce corrupt innovations into the Christian religion by their doctrine relating to the person of CHRIST.

VI. Among the Latin writers, a certain number were distinguished from the rest by their superior abilities. ILDEFONSE, archbishop of *Toledo*, was reputed for his learning; the Spaniards, however, attribute to him, without foundation, certain treatises concerning the Virgin *Mary* [s].

We have yet extant *Two books of epistles*, written by DESIDERIUS, bishop of *Cahors*, and published by the learned CANISIUS.

ELIGIUS, or ELOI, bishop of *Limoges*, left behind him several *Homilies*, and some other productions.

MARCULF, a Gallic monk, composed *Two books of ecclesiastical forms*, which are highly valuable, as they are extremely proper to give us a just idea of the deplorable state of religion and learning in this century [t].

ALDHELM, an English prelate, composed several poems *Concerning the Christian life*, which exhibit but indifferent marks of genius and fancy [u].

JULIAN POMERIUS confuted the Jews, and acquired a name by several other productions, which are neither worthy of much applause nor of utter contempt. To all these we might add CRESCONIUS, whose *Abridgment of the canons* is well known; FREDEGARIUS the historian; and a few others.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the doctrine of the Christian church in this century.

The deplorable
state of
religion.

I. I N this barbarous age, religion lay expiring under a motley and enormous heap of superstitious inventions, and had neither the courage nor the force to raise

[s] See the *Acta Sanctorum*, *Januar.* tom. ii. p. 535.

[t] *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 565.

[u] This prelate certainly deserved a more honourable mention than is here made of him by Dr. MOSHEIM. His poetical talents were by no means the most distinguishing part of his character. He
her

her head, or to display her native charms, to a darkened and deluded world. In the earlier periods of the church, the worship of Christians was confined to the one supreme God, and his son JESUS CHRIST: but the Christians of this century multiplied the objects of their devotion, and paid homage to the remains of the true cross, to the images of the saints, and to bones, whose real owners were extremely dubious [w]. The primitive Christians, in order to excite men to a course of piety and virtue, set before them that heavenly state, and those mansions of misery, which the gospel has revealed as the different portions of the righteous and the wicked: while the Christians of this century talked of nothing else but a certain fire, which effaced the stains of vice, and purified souls from their corruption. The *former* taught that CHRIST, by his sufferings and death, had made atonement for the sins of mortals; the *latter* seemed, by their superstitious doctrine, to exclude from the kingdom of heaven, such as had not contributed, by their offerings, to augment the riches of the clergy, or the church [x]. The *former* were only studious to attain to a virtuous simpli-

was profoundly versed in the Greek, Latin, and Saxon languages. He appeared also with dignity in the *paschal* controversy, that so long divided the Saxon and British churches. See COLLIER'S *Ecclesiastical Hist.* vol. i. p. 121.

[w] It will not be amiss to quote here a remarkable passage out of *The life of St. ELIGIUS*, or ELOI, bishop of *Noyon*, which is to be found in DACHERIUS'S *Spicilegium veter. Scriptor.* tom. ii. p. 92. This passage, which is very proper to give us a just idea of the piety of this age, is as follows: "Huic sanctissimo viro inter cetera virtutum suarum miracula id etiam a Domino concessum erat, ut sanctorum martyrum corpora, quæ per tot sæcula abdita populis hætenus habebantur, eo investigante ac nimio ardore fidei indagante, patefacta proderentur." It appears by this passage that St. ELOI was a zealous relick-hunter, and if we may give credit to the writer of his life, he was very successful at this kind of game; for he smelt and unkennelled the carcases of St. QUINTIN, St. PLATO, St. CRISPIN, St. CRISPINIAN, St. LUCIAN, and many more. The bishops of this age, who were either ambitiously desirous of popular applause, or intent upon accumulating riches and filling their coffers with the oblations of a superstitious people, pretended to be endowed with a miraculous sagacity in discovering the bodies of saints and martyrs.

[x] St. ELIGIUS, or ELOI, expresses himself upon this matter in the following manner: "Bonus Christianus est, qui ad ecclesiam frequenter venit, et oblationem, quæ in altari Deo offeratur,

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T II.

city of life and manners, and employed their principal zeal and diligence in the culture of true and genuine piety ; while the *latter* placed the whole of religion in external rites and bodily exercises. The methods also of solving the difficulties, and dissipating the doubts, that often arose in inquisitive minds, were of a piece with the rest of the superstitious system that now prevailed. The two great and irresistible arguments against all doubts, were the *authority of the church*, and the *working of miracles* : and the production of these prodigies required no extraordinary degree of dexterity in an age of such gross and universal ignorance.

The expositors of the Holy Scriptures,

II. Few either of the Greeks or Latins applied themselves to the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures during this century. There are yet extant some commentaries of ISYCHIUS, bishop of *Jerusalem*, upon certain books of the *Old Testament*, and upon the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. MAXIMUS published a solution of LXV questions relating to the *Holy Scriptures*, and other productions of the same nature. JULIAN POMERIUS attempted, but without success, to reconcile the seeming contradictions that are to be found in the sacred writings, and to explain the prophecy of NAHUM. All these writers were manifestly inferior to the meanest expositors of modern times. The Grecian doctors, particularly those who pretended to be initiated in the most mysterious depths of theology, were continually hunting after fantastic allegories, as is evident

“ exhibet ; qui de fructibus suis non gustat, nisi prius Deo aliquid
“ offerat ; qui, quoties sanctæ solemnitates adveniunt, ante dies plures castitatem etiam cum propria uxore custodit, ut secunda conscientia Domini altare accedere possit ; qui postremo symbolum vel orationem Dominicam memoriter tenet.—Redimite animas vestras de poena, dum habetis in potestate remedia—oblaciones et decimas ecclesiis offerte, luminaria sanctis locis, juxta quod habetis, exhibete—ad ecclesiam quoque frequentius convenite, sanctorum patrocinia humiliter expetite—quod si observaveritis, securi in die judicii ante tribunal æterni judicis venientes dicetis : Da, Domine, quia dedimus.” We see here a large and ample description of the character of a good Christian, in which there is not the least mention of the love of God, resignation to his will, obedience to his laws, or of justice, benevolence, and charity towards men ; and in which the whole of religion is made to consist in coming often to the church, bringing offerings to the altar, lighting candles in consecrated places, and such like vain services.

from

from the *questions* of MAXIMUS already mentioned. The C E N T.
 Latins, on the contrary, were so diffident of their abilities, VII.
 that they did not dare to enter these allegorical labyrinths, P A R T II.
 but contented themselves with what flowers they could
 pluck out of the rich collections of GREGORY and AU-
 GUSTIN. Of this we see a manifest example in PATERI-
 US's *Exposition of the Old and New Testament*, which is
 entirely compiled from the writings of GREGORY the
 GREAT [y]. Among the interpreters of this century,
 we must not forget THOMAS bishop of *Heraclea*, who
 gave a second Syriac version of all the books of the New
 Testament [z].

III. While philosophy and theology had scarcely any Didactic
 remains of life, any marks of existence among the Latins, theology.
 the Greeks were wholly occupied with controversies about
 certain particular branches of religion, and never once
 thought of reducing all the doctrines of Christianity into
 one regular and rational system. It is true, ANTIOCHUS,
 a monk of *Palestine*, composed a short summary of the
 Christian doctrine, which he intitled, *The pandect of the*
Holy Scriptures. It is, however, easy to perceive what
 sort of an author he was, how void of dignity and true
 judgment, from many circumstances, and particularly,
 from that rueful poem which is subjoined to his work, in
 which he deplôres, in lamentable strains, the loss of that
 precious fragment of the true cross, which is said to have
 been carried away, by the Persians, among other spoils.
 The most elegant and judicious summary of theology that
 appeared among the Latins in this century, was the *Trea-*
tise of ILDEFONSE de cognitione baptismi, which was saved,
 by BALUZIUS, from the ruins of time; a work, indeed,
 which is not extremely necessary since the ignoble frauds of
 superstition have been so fully brought to light, though it
 contains remarkable proofs, that many of the corrupt addi-
 tions and inventions, which disfigure Christianity in the popish

[y] This useless production has been usually published with the
 works of GREGORY the GREAT: in consequence of which, the
 Benedictin monks have inserted it in their splendid edition of the
 works of that pontif, tom. iv. part. II.

[z] JOS. SIM. ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. p.
 93, 94.

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T II.

churches, were not contrived till after this period [a]. The dry and insipid body of divinity, composed by FAIO, or TAGO, bishop of *Saragossa*, under the title of *Five books of sentences*, and compiled from the writings of GREGORY and AUGUSTIN, is scarcely worthy of mention, though, in [this century, it was considered as an admirable and immortal work [b].

Several particular branches of doctrine were treated by the theological writers of this age: Thus MAXIMUS wrote concerning the nature of *Theology*, and the *Manifestation of the son in the flesh*, and also concerning the *Two natures in CHRIST*; and THEODORE RAITHU composed a treatise concerning CHRIST's *Incarnation*. But a small acquaintance with the state of learning and religion, at this period, will enable us to form a just though disadvantageous idea of the merit of these performances, and also of their authors.

Moral writers.

IV. The moral writers of this century, and their miserable productions, shew too plainly to what a wretched state that noble and important science was now reduced. Among these moralists, the first rank is due to DOROTHEUS, author of the *Ascetic Dissertations*; MAXIMUS; ALDHELM; HESYCHIUS; THALASSIUS; and some others; yet even in their productions, what groveling notions do we find? What rubbish, what an heap of superstitious fancies, and how many marks of extravagance, perplexity, and doubt? Besides; the *laity* had little reason to complain of the severity of their moral directors, whose custom it was to reduce all the obligations of Christianity to the practice of a small number of virtues, as appears from ALDHELM's *Treatise concerning the eight principal virtues*. Nor was the neglect of these duties attended with such pe-

[a] See BALUZII *Miscellanea*, tom. vi. p. 1. From the work of ILDEFONSUS it appears evident, that the monstrous doctrine of *Transubstantiation* was absolutely unknown to the Latins in this century. See C. 137. p. 99. that the Holy Scriptures were in the hands of all Christians, and were perused by them without the least molestation or restraint, C. 80. p. 59. ILDEFONSUS, it is true, is zealous in banishing reason and philosophy from religious matters; he however establishes the *Holy Scriptures* and the *Writings of the ancient doctors* as the supreme tribunals, before which all theological opinions are to be tried, p. 14. 22.

[b] See MABILLON, *Analecfa veteris ævi*, tom. ii. p. 68.

nalties

nalties as were proper to restrain offenders. The false notions also, which prevailed in this age, tended much to diminish a just sense of the nature and obligation of virtue; for the solitude of the monastic life, though accompanied with no marks of solid and genuine piety, was deemed sufficient to atone for all sorts of crimes, and was therefore honoured among the Latins with the title of the *second baptism*, which circumstance alone may serve to shew us the miserable state of Christianity at this time. The greatest part of the Grecian and Oriental monks laboured to arrive at a state of perfection by mere contemplation, and studiously endeavoured to form their temper and characters after the model of DIONYSIUS, the chief of the Mystics.

V. THEODORE of *Tarsus*, a Grecian monk, restored among the Latins the discipline of *penance*, as it is commonly termed, which had been for a long time almost totally neglected, and enforced it by a body of severe laws borrowed from the Grecian canons. This zealous prelate, being raised beyond his expectation to the see of *Canterbury* A. D. 668, formed and executed several pious and laudable projects; and among other things reduced to a regular science that branch of ecclesiastical law, which is known by the name of *penitential discipline*. He published a *penitential*, which was entirely new to the Latin world, by which the clergy were taught to distinguish sins into various classes, according as they were more or less heinous, private or public; to judge of them and determine the degrees of their guilt by their nature and consequences; the intention of the offender; the time and place in which they were committed; and the circumstances with which they were attended. This new *penitential* contained also the methods of proceeding with respect to offenders; pointed out the penalties that were suitable to the various classes of transgressions; prescribed the forms of *consolation*, *exhortation*, and *absolution*; and described, in an ample and accurate manner, the duties and obligations of those who were to receive the confessions of the penitent [c]. This

The renewal of penitential discipline.

[c] The *Penitential* of THEODORE is yet extant, though maimed and imperfect, in an edition published at *Paris* in the year 1679, in 4to by PETIT; and enriched with learned dissertations and notes of the editor. We have also the *cxx Capitula Ecclesiast. THEODORI*,
new

C E N T. VII. new discipline, though of Grecian origin, was eagerly adopted by the Latin churches; and, in a short space of time, passed from *Britain* into all the western provinces, where the book of THEODORE became the model of all other *penitentials*, and was multiplied in a vast number of copies. The duration of this discipline was but transitory; for, in the eighth century, it began to decline, and was, at length, entirely supplanted by what was called the new canon of *indulgences*.

The state of
Polemic
theology.

VI. The doctors who opposed the various sects are scarcely worthy of mention, and would deserve still less an attentive perusal, did not their writings contribute to illustrate the history of the times in which they lived. NICIAS composed two books *against the Gentiles*; and PHOTIUS informs us, that a certain writer, whose name is unknown, embarked in the same controversy, and supported the good cause by a prodigious number of arguments drawn from ancient records and monuments [d]. JULIAN POMERIUS exerted his polemic talent against the Jews. The views of TIMOTHEUS were yet more extensive; for he gave an ample description and a laboured confutation of all the various *heresies* that divided the church, in his book *Concerning the reception of Heretics*.

As to the dissensions of the Catholic Christians among themselves, they produced, at this time, few or no events worthy of mention. We shall, therefore, only observe, that in this century were sown the seeds of those fatal discords, which rent asunder the bonds of Christian communion between the Greek and Latin churches; nay, these seeds had already taken root in the minds of the Greeks, to whom the Roman power became insupportable, and the pretensions of the sovereign pontif odious.

In *Britain*, warm controversies concerning baptism, the tonsure, and particularly the famous dispute concerning the time of celebrating the Easter festival, were carried on between the ancient Britons and the new converts to Christianity, which AUGUSTIN had made among the Anglo-Saxons [e]. The fundamental doctrines of Christianity published in DACAERIUS's *Spicilegium*, tom. ix. and in the *Concilia HARDUINI*, tom. iii. p. 1771.

[d] *Biblioth. Cod.* clxx. p. 379.

[e] CUMMANI *Epistola* in JAC. USSERII *Sylloge Epistolar. Hibernicar.* p. 23. BEDÆ *Historia Ecclesiast. gentis Anglor.* lib. iii. cap. anity

anity were not at all affected by these controversies, which, on that account, were more innocent and less important than they would have otherwise been. Besides, they were entirely terminated, in the eighth century, in favour of the Anglo-Saxons, by the Benedictine monks [f].

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T II.

C H A P. IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the church during this century.

I. **I**N the council of *Constantinople*, which was called *Quinisextum* [g], the Greeks enacted several laws concerning the ceremonies that were to be observed in divine worship, which rendered their ritual, in some respects, different from that of the Romans. These laws were publicly received by all the churches, which were established in the dominions of the Grecian emperors; and also by those which were joined with them in communion and doctrine, though under the civil jurisdiction of Barbarian princes. Nor was this all: for every Roman pontif added something new to the ancient rites and institutions, as if it was an essential mark of their zeal for religion, and of their pious discharge of the ministerial function, to divert the multitude with new shews and new spectacles of devout mommery. These superstitious inventions were, in the time of CHARLEMAGNE, propagated from *Rome* among the

Religious
rites multi-
plied.

xxv. WILKINS'S *Concilia Magnæ Britann.* tom. i. p. 37. 42. *Acta Sanctor.* Februar. tom. iii. p. 21. 84. ¶ See also Dr. WARNER'S *Ecclesiastical History of England*, book II and III. This history, which has lately appeared, deserves the highest applause, on account of that noble spirit of liberty, candour, and moderation, that seems to have guided the pen of the judicious author. It were, at the same time, to be wished, that this elegant historian had less avoided citing authorities, and been a little more lavish of that erudition which he is known to possess: for then, after having surpassed COLLIER in all other respects, he would have equalled him in that depth and learning, which are the only meritorious circumstances of his partial and disagreeable history.

[f] MABILLON, *Præf. ad Sac. iii. Benedictinum*, p. 2. ¶ See also Dr. WARNER'S *Ecclesiast. Hist.* book III.

¶ [g] This council was called *Quinisextum*, from its being considered as a supplement to the fifth and sixth councils of *Constantinople*, in which nothing had been decreed concerning the morals of Christians, or religious ceremonies.

other

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T II.

Some exam-
ples of this
addition to
the ritual.

Latin churches, whose subjection to the Roman ritual was necessary to satisfy the ambitious demands of the lordly pontif.

II. It will not be improper to select here a few out of the many instances we could produce of the multiplication of religious rites in this century. The number of festivals, under which the church already groaned, was now augmented; a new festival was instituted in honour of the true cross on which Christ suffered, and another in commemoration of the Saviour's ascension into heaven. BONIFACE V enacted that infamous law, by which the churches became places of refuge to all who fled thither for protection; a law which procured a sort of impunity to the most enormous crimes, and gave a loose rein to the licentiousness of the most abandoned profligates. HONORIUS employed all his diligence and zeal in embellishing churches, and other consecrated places with the most pompous and magnificent ornaments; for as neither CHRIST, nor his apostles had left any injunctions of this nature to their followers, their pretended vicar thought it but just to supply this defect by the most splendid display of his ostentatious beneficence. We shall pass in silence the riches and variety of the sacerdotal garments that were now used at the celebration of the eucharist, and in the performance of divine worship, as this would lead us into a tedious detail of minute and unimportant matters.

C H A P. V.

Concerning the divisions and heresies that troubled the church during this century.

The re-
mains of the
ancient
sects.

I. **T**HE Greeks were engaged, during this century, in the most bitter and virulent controversy with the PAULICIANS, whom they considered as a branch of the Manichean sect, and who were settled in *Armenia* and the adjacent countries. This dispute was carried to the greatest height under the reigns of CONSTANS, CONSTANTINE POGONATUS, and JUSTINIAN II; and the Greeks were not only armed with arguments, but were also seconded by the force of military legions, and the terror of penal laws. A certain person, whose name was CONSTANTINE, revived,

ed, under the reign of CONSTANS, the drooping faction of the PAULICIANS, which was now ready to expire; and propagated, with great success, its pestilential [b] doctrines. But this is not the place to enlarge upon the tenets and history of this sect, whose origin is attributed to PAUL and JOHN, two brothers, who revived and modified the doctrine of MANES. As it was in the ninth century that the Paulicians flourished most, and acquired strength sufficient to support the rigours of an open and cruel war with the Greeks, we shall reserve a more particular account of them for our history of that period.

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T II.

Paulicians.

II. In *Italy*, the Lombards preferred the opinions of the Arians to the doctrine which was established by the council of *Nice*. In *Gaul* and in *England*, the Pelagian and Semi-pelagian controversies continued to excite the warmest animosities and dissensions. In the eastern provinces, the ancient sects, which had been weakened and oppressed by the imperial laws, but neither totally extirpated nor destroyed, began, in many places, to raise their heads, to recover their vigour, and to gain proselytes. The terror of penal laws had obliged them, for some time, to seek their safety in their obscurity, and therefore to conceal their opinions from the public eye; but as soon as they saw the fury or the power of their adversaries diminish, their hopes returned, and their courage was renewed.

Arians.
Pelagians.

III. The condition both of the Nestorians and Monophysites was much more flourishing under the Saracens, who were now become lords of the east, than it had been hitherto under the Christian emperors, or even the Persian monarchs. These two sects met with a distinguished protection from their new masters, while the Greeks suffered under the same scepter all the rigours of persecution and banishment. JESUIABAS, the sovereign pontif of the Nestorians, concluded a treaty first with MAHOMET, and afterwards with OMAR, by which he obtained many signal advantages for his sect [i]. There is yet extant a *Testamentary Diploma* of MAHOMET, in which he promises

Nestorians
and Mono-
physites.

[b] PHOTIUS, lib. i. *Contra Manich.* p. 61. PETRI SICULI *Historia Manich.* p. 41. GEORG. CEDRENIUS, *Compend. Hist.* p. 431. edit. Venet.

[i] JOS. SIMON. ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. part II. p. 94.

and

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T. II.

and bequeaths to the Christians, in his dominions, the quiet and undisturbed enjoyment of their religion, together with their temporal advantages and possessions. Some learned men have, indeed, called in question the authenticity of this deed; it is however certain, that the Mahometans unanimously acknowledge it to be genuine [k]. Accordingly, the successors of MAHOMET in *Persia* employed the Nestorians in the most important affairs, both of the cabinet and of the provinces, and suffered the patriarch of

[k] This famous *Testament* of MAHOMET was brought from the east, during the last century, by PACIFICUS SCALIGER, a Capuchin monk; and was published first in Arabic and Latin at *Paris* by GABRIEL SIONITA, A. D. 1636; afterwards in Latin by the learned FABRICIUS, A. D. 1638; and also by HINCKELMAN, A. D. 1696. See HENR. HOTTINGER. *Hist. Orient.* lib. ii. cap. xx. p. 237. ASSEMANI *Bibl. Orient. Vat.* tom. iii. part. II. p. 95. RENAUDOT. *Histor. Patriarchar. Alexandr.* p. 162. They who, in conformity with the opinion of GROTIUS, reject this Testament, suppose it forged by the Syrian and Arabian monks, with a view to soften the Mahometan yoke under which they groaned, and to render their despotic masters less severe. Nor is this representation of the matter at all incredible; for it is certain, that the monks of mount *Sinai* formerly shewed an edict of MAHOMET of the same nature with the one now under consideration, which they pretend was drawn up by him while he was yet in a private station. This edict was extremely advantageous to them, and was, undoubtedly, an artful piece of forgery. The fraud was plain: but the Mahometans, in consequence of their ignorance and stupidity, believed it to be a genuine production of their chief, and continue still in the same opinion. There is an account of this fraud given by CANTIMIR, in his *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*; tom. ii. p. 269. The argument therefore which RENAUDOT and others draw in favour of the *Testament* in question, from the acknowledgement which the Mahometans make of its authenticity, is of little or no weight; since the Mahometans of all others are the most liable to be deceived in things of this nature, by their gross and unparalleled ignorance. On the other hand, several of the arguments used by those, who deny the authenticity of this *Testament*, are equally unsatisfactory; that, particularly, which is drawn from the difference that there is between the style of this deed and that of the *Alcoran*, proves absolutely nothing at all: since it is not essential to the genuineness of this Testament to suppose it penned by MAHOMET himself, because the impostor might have employed a secretary to compose it. But let this *Testament* be genuine or spurious, it is undeniably certain that its contents were true; since many learned men have fully proved, that MAHOMET, at his first setting out, prohibited, in the strongest manner, the commission of all sorts of injuries against the Christians, and especially the Nestorians.

that

that sect only, to reside in the kingdom of *Babylon* [1]. The Monophysites enjoyed in *Syria* and *Egypt* an equal degree of favour and protection. AMRUS, having made himself master of *Alexandria* in the year 644, fixed BENJAMIN, the pontif of the Monophysites, in the episcopal residence of that noble city; and from this period, the Melchites [m] were without a bishop for almost a whole century [n].

Monothe-
lites.

IV. Though the Greek church was already torn asunder by the most lamentable divisions, yet its calamities were far from being at an end. A new sect arose, A. D. 630, under the reign of the emperor HERACLIUS, which, in a short space of time, excited such violent commotions as engaged the eastern and western churches to unite their forces in order to its extinction. The source of this tumult was an unseasonable plan of peace and union. HERACLIUS, considering, with pain, the detriment which the Grecian empire had suffered by the migration of the persecuted Nestorians, and their settlement in *Persia*, was ardently desirous of reuniting the Monophysites to the bosom of the Greek church, lest the empire should receive a new wound by their departure from it. Pursuant to this idea, he held a conference, during the Persian war, A. D. 622, with a certain person named PAUL, a man of great credit and authority among the Armenian Monophysites; and another, at *Hierapolis*, in the year 629, with ATHANASIUS, the Catholic or bishop of that sect, upon the methods that seemed most proper to restore tranquillity and concord to a divided church. Both these persons assured the emperor, that they who maintained the doctrine of *one nature*, might be induced to receive the decrees of the council of *Chalcedon*, and thereby to terminate their controversy with the Greeks; provided that the latter would give their

[1] ASSEMANI, l. c. p. 97. EUSEBE RENAUD. *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandr.* p. 163. 169.

[m] The Melchites were those Christians in *Syria*, *Egypt*, and the *Levant*, who, though not Greeks, followed the doctrines and ceremonies of the Greek church. They were called Melchites, i. e. Royalists, by their adversaries, by way of reproach, on account of their implicit submission to the edict of the emperor MARCIAN, in favour of the council of *Chalcedon*.

[n] EUSEB. RENAUD. *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandr.* p. 168.

C E N T. VII. affent to the truth of the following proposition, viz. that
 P A R T. II. in JESUS CHRIST there was, after the union of the two na-
 tures, but one will, and one operation. HERACLIUS commu-
 nicated this matter to SERGIUS, patriarch of *Constantinople*,
 who was a Syrian by birth, and whose parents adhered to
 the doctrine of the Monophysites. This prelate gave it
 as his opinion, that the doctrine of *one will* and *one opera-*
tion, after the *union* of the *two natures*, might be safely ad-
 opted without the least injury to truth, or the smallest
 detriment to the authority of the council of *Chalcedon*. In
 consequence of this, the emperor published an edict, A. D.
 630, in favour of that doctrine, and hoped, by this act of
 authority, to restore peace and concord both in church
 and state [o].

The pro-
 gress of
 their doc-
 trine.

V. The first reception of this new project was promif-
 ing, and things seemed to go on smoothly. For though
 some ecclesiastics refused submitting to the imperial edict,
 yet CYRUS and ATHANASIUS, the patriarchs of *Alexandria*
 and *Antioch*, received it without hesitation; and the see
 of *Jerusalem* was at that time vacant [p]. As to the Ro-
 man pontif, he was entirely overlooked in the matter, as
 his consent was not considered as at all necessary in an af-
 fair that related only to the eastern church. In the mean
 time, CYRUS, who had been promoted by HERACLIUS,
 from the see of *Phasis* to that of *Alexandria*, assembled a
 council, by the seventh decree of which, the doctrine of
 Monothelitism, or *one will*, which the emperor had in-
 troduced by the edict already mentioned, was solemnly
 confirmed. This new modification of the doctrine of the
 council of *Chalcedon*, which seemed to bring it nearer to the
 Eutychian system, had the desired effect upon the Mono-
 thelites, and induced great numbers of them, who were
 dispersed in *Egypt*, *Armenia*, and other remote provinces,
 to return into the bosom of the church. They, how-
 ever, explained the perplexed and ambiguous doctrine of
one will in CHRIST, in a manner peculiar to themselves, and
 not quite conformable to the true principles of their sect.

[o] The authors, who have written concerning this sect, are menti-
 oned by JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, in his *Biblioth. Græc.* vol. x. p. 204.
 The account which I have here given of them is drawn from the
 fountain head, and is supported by the best authorities.

[p] See LEQUIEN, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 264.

VI. This

VI. This smiling prospect of peace and concord was, however, but transitory, and was unhappily succeeded by the most dreadful tumults excited by a monk of *Palestine*, whose name was SOPHRONIUS. This monk, being present at the council assembled at *Alexandria* by CYRUS, in the year 633, had violently opposed the decree, which confirmed the doctrine of *one will* in CHRIST. His opposition, which was then treated with contempt, became more formidable the following year; when, raised to the patriarchal see of *Jerusalem*, he summoned a council, in which the Monothelites were condemned as heretics, who revived and propagated the Eutychian errors concerning the mixture and confusion of the two natures in CHRIST. Multitudes, alarmed at the cry of heresy raised by this seditious monk, adopted his sentiments; but it was HONORIUS, the Roman pontif, that he laboured principally to gain over to his side. His efforts, however, were vain: for SERGIUS, the patriarch of *Constantinople*, having informed HONORIUS, by a long and artful letter, of the true state of the question, determined that pontif in favour of the doctrine, which maintained *one will* and *one operation* in CHRIST [q]. Hence arose those obstinate contests, which rent the church into two sects, and the state into two factions.

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T II.

The opposition it met with.

VII. In order to put an end to these commotions, HERACLIUS issued out, in the year 639, the famous edict composed by SERGIUS, and called the *Ecthesis*, or expo-

The contests occasioned by the *Ecthesis* and the *Type*.

[q] The Roman Catholic writers have employed all their art and industry to represent the conduct of HONORIUS in such a manner, as to save his pretended infallibility from the charge of error in a question of such importance. (See, among others, HARDUIN, *De sacramento altaris*, which is published in his *Opera Selecta*, p. 255.) And, indeed, it is easy to find both matter of accusation and defence in the case of this pontif. On the one hand, it would appear that he himself knew not his own sentiments, nor attached any precise and definite meaning to the expressions he used in the course of this controversy. On the other hand, it is certain, that he gave it as his opinion, that in CHRIST there was but *one will* and *one operation*. It was for this that he was condemned in the council of *Constantinople*, and he must of consequence be undoubtedly a heretic, if it is true, that general councils cannot err. See BOSSUET, in his *Defence of the Declaration made by the Gallican Clergy in the year 1682, concerning Ecclesiastical Power*, par. II. lib. xii. cap. xxi. p. 182. See also BASNAGE, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 391.

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T II.

sition of the faith, in which all controversies upon the question, *whether in CHRIST there was one, or two operations*, were strictly prohibited, though in the same edict the doctrine of *one will* was plainly inculcated. A considerable number of the eastern bishops declared their assent to this new law, which was also submissively received by their chief PYRRHUS, who, upon the death of SERGIUS in the year 639, was raised to the see of *Constantinople*. In the west, the case was quite different. JOHN, the fourth Roman pontif of that name, assembled a council at *Rome* A. D. 639, in which the *Ecthesis* was rejected, and the Monothelites condemned. Nor was this all: for in the progress of this contest, a new edict, known by the name of *Type* or *Formulary*, was published, in the year 648, by the emperor CONSTANS, by the advice of PAUL of *Constantinople* [r], by which the *Ecthesis* was suppressed, and the contending parties commanded to terminate their disputes concerning the one will, and the one operation in CHRIST, by observing a profound silence upon that difficult and ambiguous subject. This silence, which was so wisely commanded in a matter which it was impossible to determine to the satisfaction of the contending parties, appeared highly criminal to the angry and contentious monks. They, therefore, excited MARTIN, bishop of *Rome*, to oppose his authority to an edict, which hindered them from propagating strife and contention in the church; and their importunities had the desired effect; for this prelate, in a council of an hundred and five bishops, assembled at *Rome* A. D. 649, condemned both the *Ecthesis* and the *Type*, though without any mention of the names of the emperors who had published those edicts, and thundered out the most dreadful anathemas against the Monothelites and their patrons, who were solemnly consigned to the devil and his angels.

The sixth
general
council.

VIII. The emperor CONSTANS, justly irritated at these haughty and impudent proceedings of MARTIN, who

[r] It is proper to observe here, that PAUL, who was a Monothelite in his heart, and had maintained the *Ecthesis* with great zeal, fell upon this prudent measure with a view to appease the Roman pontif and the African bishops, who were incited against him to the highest degree on account of his attachment to the doctrine of *one will*.

treated

treated the imperial laws with such contempt, ordered him to be seized and carried into the isle of *Naxos*, where he was kept prisoner a whole year. This order, which was followed with much cruel treatment, was executed by *CALLIOPAS*, exarch of *Italy*, in the year 650; and, at the same time, *MAXIMUS*, the ring-leader of the seditious monks, was banished to *Bizyca*; and other rioters of the same tribe were differently punished in proportion to the part they acted in this rebellion. These resolute proceedings rendered *EUGENIUS* and *VITALIANUS*, the succeeding bishops of *Rome*, more moderate and prudent than their predecessor had been; especially the latter, who received *CONSTANS*, upon his arrival at *Rome* in the year 663, with the highest marks of distinction and respect, and used the wisest precautions to prevent the flame of that unhappy controversy from breaking out a second time. And thus, for several years, it appeared to be extinguished; but it was so only in appearance; it was a lurking flame, which spread itself secretly, and gave reason to those who examined things with attention to dread new combustions both in church and state. To prevent these, *CONSTANTINE POGONATUS*, the son of *CONSTANS*, pursuant to the advice of *AGATHO*, the Roman pontif, summoned, in the year 680, the sixth general, or œcumenical council, in which he permitted the Monothelites and pope *HONORIUS* himself to be solemnly condemned in presence of the Roman legates, who represented *AGATHO* in that assembly, and confirmed the sentence pronounced by the council, by the sanction of penal laws enacted against such as pretended to oppose it.

IX. It is difficult to give a clear and accurate account of the sentiments of those who were called Monothelites; nor is it easy to point out the objections of their adversaries. Neither of the contending parties express themselves consistently with what seem to have been their respective opinions; and they both disavow the errors with which they reciprocally charge each other. The following observations contain the clearest notion we can form of the state of this subtle controversy. 1. The Monothelites declared, that they had no connexion with the Eutychians and Monophysites; but maintained, in opposition to these two sects, that in *CHRIST* there were two distinct

A short view
of the doc-
trine of the
Monothe-
lites.

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T II.

natures, which were so united, though without the least mixture or confusion, as to form by their union only one person. 2. They acknowledged that the soul of CHRIST was endowed with a will or faculty of volition, which it still retained after its union with the divine nature. For they taught that CHRIST was not only perfect God, but also perfect man; from whence it followed, that his soul was endowed with the faculty of volition. 3. They denied that this faculty of volition in the soul of CHRIST, was absolutely unactive, maintaining, on the contrary, that it co-operated with the divine will. 4. They, therefore, in effect, attributed to our Lord two wills, and these moreover operating and active. 5. They however affirmed, that, in a certain sense, there was in CHRIST but one will and one manner of operation.

Different
opinions a-
mong that
sect.

X. We must not indeed imagine, that all, who were distinguished by the title of Monothelites, were unanimous in their sentiments with respect to the points now mentioned. Some, as appears from undoubted testimonies, meant no more than this, that the two wills in CHRIST were *one*, i. e. in perfect harmony; that the human will was in perpetual conformity with the divine, and was, consequently, always holy, just, and good; in which opinion there is nothing reprehensible. Others, approaching nearer to the sentiment of the Monophysites, imagined that the two wills or faculties of volition in CHRIST were blended into one, in that which they called the *personal union*: acknowledging, at the same time, that the distinction between these two wills was perceivable by reason, and that it was also necessary to distinguish carefully in this matter. The greatest part of this sect, and those who were also the most remarkable for their subtilty and penetration, were of opinion, that the human will of CHRIST was the instrument of the divine; or, in other words, never operated or acted of itself, but was always ruled, influenced, and impelled by the divine will, in such a manner, however, that when it was once set in motion, it decreed and operated with the ruling principle. The doctrine of one will and one operation in CHRIST, which the Monothelites maintained with such invincible obstinacy, was a natural consequence of this hypothesis; since the operation of an instrument and of the being who employs

employs it, is one simple operation, and not two distinct operations or energies. According to this view of things, the Eutychian doctrine was quite out of the question; and the only point of controversy to be determined, was, whether the human will in CHRIST was a self-moving faculty determined by its own internal impulse, or whether, on the contrary, it derived all its motion and operations from the divine?

In the mean time, we may learn from this controversy, that nothing is more precarious, and nothing more dangerous and deceitful, than that religious peace and concord which are founded upon ambiguous doctrines, and cemented by obscure and equivocal propositions, or articles of faith. The partisans of the council of *Chalcedon* endeavoured to ensnare the Monophysites, by proposing their doctrine in a manner that admitted of a double explication; and by this imprudent piece of cunning, that shewed so little reverence for the truth, they involved both church and state in tedious and lamentable divisions.

Their fate
after the
council of
Constantino-
ple.

XI. The doctrine of the Monothelites, condemned and exploded by the council of *Constantinople*, found a place of refuge among the Mardaites, a people who inhabited the mounts *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, and who, about the conclusion of this century, were called Maronites, after MARO their first bishop, a name which they still retain. None of the ancient writers give any certain account of the first person who instructed these Mountaineers in the doctrine of the Monothelites; it is probable, however, from several circumstances, that it was JOHN MARO, whose name they had adopted [s]. One thing, indeed, we know, with the utmost certainty, from the testimony of TYRIUS and other unexceptionable witnesses, as also from the most authentic records, and that is, that the Maronites retained the opinions of the Monothelites until the twelfth century, when abandoning and renouncing the doctrine of *one will* in CHRIST, they

[s] This ecclesiastic received the name of MARO, from his having lived in the character of a monk in the famous convent of *St. Maro*, upon the borders of the *Orontes*, before his settlement among the Mardaites of mount *Libanus*. For an ample account of this prelate, see JOS. SIMON. *Assemani Biblioth. Orient. Clement. Vatic.* tom. i. p. 496.

CENT.
VII.
PART II.

were re-admitted, in the year 1182, to the communion of the Roman church. The most learned of the modern Maronites have left no method unemployed to defend their church against this accusation; they have laboured to prove, by a variety of testimonies, that their ancestors always persevered in the Catholic faith, in their attachment to the Roman pontif, without ever adopting the doctrine either of the Monophysites, or Monothelites. But all their efforts are insufficient to prove the truth of these assertions to such as have any acquaintance with the history of the church and the records of ancient times; for to all such the testimonies they allege, will appear absolutely fictitious and destitute of authority [t].

The council
called *Quinisextum*.

XII. Neither the sixth general council, in which the Monothelites were condemned, nor the fifth, which had been assembled in the preceding century, had determined any thing concerning ecclesiastical discipline or religious ceremonies. To supply this defect, a new assembly of bishops was held pursuant to the order of JUSTINIAN II, in a spacious hall of the imperial palace called *Trullus*, i. e. *Cupola*, from the form of the building. This council, which met A. D. 692, was called *Quinisextum*, as we

[t] The cause of the Maronites has been pleaded by the writers of that nation, such as ABRAHAM ECHELLENSIS, GABRIEL SIONITA, and others; but the most ample defence of their uninterrupted orthodoxy was made by FAUSTUS NAIRON, partly in his *Dissertatio de origine, nomine, ac religione Maronitarum*, published at Rome A. D. 1679, and partly in his *Euoplia fidei Catholice ex Syrorum et Chaldaeorum monumentis*, published in the same city A. D. 1624. None of the learned, however, were persuaded by his arguments except PAGI* and LA ROCQUE, of whom the latter has given us, in his *Voyage de Syrie et de Montliban*, tom. ii. p. 28—128, a long dissertation concerning the origin of the Maronites. Even the learned ASSEMANUS, himself a Maronite, and who has spared no pains to defend his nation † against the reproach in question, acknowledges ingenuously, that among the arguments, used by NAIRON and others in favour of the Maronites, there are a great many destitute of force. See JO. MORINUS, *De Ordin. Sacris*, p. 380. RICH. SIMON, *Histoire Critique des Chrétiens Orientaux*, chap. xiii. p. 146. EUSEB. RENAUDOT, *Historia Patriarchar. Alexandrinor.* p. 149. and *Præf. ad Liturgias Orientales*. LE BRUN, *Explication de la Messe*, tom. ii. p. 626. Paris. 1726. The arguments of the contending parties are enumerated impartially in such a manner, as leaves the decision to the reader, by LE QUIEN, in his *Oriens Christianus*, tom. iii. p. 10.

* See *Critica Baróniana ad A. 694.*

† See *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. i. p. 496.

had occasion to observe formerly, from its being considered, by the Greeks, as a supplement to the fifth and sixth œcumenical councils, and as having given to the acts of these assemblies the degree of perfection which they had hitherto wanted. There are yet extant an hundred and two laws, which were enacted in this council, and which related to the external celebration of divine worship, the government of the church, and the lives and manners of Christians. Of these there are six, which are diametrically opposite to several opinions and rites of the Romish church; for which reason the Roman pontifs have refused to adopt, without restriction, the decisions of this council, or to reckon it in the number of those called *œcumenical*, though they look upon the greatest part of its decrees as worthy of applause [u].

C E N T.
VII.
P A R T II.

[u] See FRANC. PAGI *Breviar. Pontif. Roman.* tom. i. p. 486. CHRIST. LUPUS, *Dissertat. de Concilio Trulliano, in Notis et Dissertat. ad Concilia*, tom. iii. Opp. p. 168. The Roman Catholics reject the following decisions of this council: 1. The fifth *canon*, which approves of the eighty-five apostolical canons commonly attributed to CLEMENT. 2. The thirteenth *canon*, which allows the priests to marry. 3. The fifty-fifth *canon*, which condemns the Sabbath fast, that was an institution of the Latin church. 4. The sixty-seventh *canon*, which prescribes the most rigorous abstinence from blood and things strangled. 5. The eighty-second *canon*, which prohibits the representing CHRIST under the image of a lamb. 6. The thirty-sixth *canon*, concerning the equal rank and authority of the bishops of Rome and Constantinople.

AN
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BOOK THE THIRD.

CONTAINING THE
HISTORY OF THE CHURCH,

FROM

C H A R L E M A G N E

T O

THE REFORMATION BY LUTHER.

7

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

BOOK THE THIRD

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

FROM

THE REFORMATION

TO

THE PRESENT TIME

THE
EIGHTH CENTURY.
PART I.

The External HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

*Concerning the prosperous events, which happened to the church
during this century.*

I. **W**HILE the Mahometans were infesting with their arms, and adding to their conquests, the most flourishing provinces of *Asia*, and obscuring, as far as their influence could extend, the lustre and glory of the rising church, the Nestorians of *Chaldea* were carrying the lamp of Christianity among those barbarous nations, called Scythians by the ancients, and by the moderns, Tartars, who, independent on the Saracen yoke, had fixed their habitations within the limits of mount *Imaus* [a]. It is now well known, that TIMOTHEUS, the Nestorian pontif, who had been raised to that dignity A. D. 778, converted to the Christian faith, by the ministry of SUBCHAL JESU, whom he had consecrated

CENT.
VIII.
PART I.

The gospel
propagated
in *Hyrcania*
and *Tartary*.

☞ [a] The southern regions of *Scythia* were divided by the ancients (to whom the northern were unknown) into three parts, namely, *Scythia within*, and *Scythia beyond Imaus*, and *Sarmatia*. It is of the first of these three that Dr. MOSHEIM speaks as enlightened at this time with the knowledge of the gospel; and it comprehended *Turkestan* and *Mongal*, the *Uzbek*, or *Zagata*, *Kalmuc* and *Nogaian Tartary*, which were peopled by the *Bactrians*, *Sogdians*, *Gandarii*, *Sacs*, and *Massagetes*, not to mention the land of *Siberia*, *Samoiedes*, and *Nova Zembla*, which were uninhabited in ancient times.

bishop,

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T I.

bishop, first the Gelæ and Dailamites, by whom a part of *Hyrkania* was inhabited; and afterwards, by the labours of other missionaries, the rest of the nations, who had formed settlements in *Hyrkania*, *Bactria*, *Margiana*, and *Sogdia* [b]. It is also certain, that Christianity enjoyed in these vast regions, notwithstanding the violent attacks of the Mahometans to which it was sometimes exposed, the advantages of a firm and solid establishment for a long course of ages; while the bishops, by whose ministry it was propagated and supported, were all consecrated by the sole authority of the Nestorian pontif.

The Germans converted by Boniface.

II. If we turn our eyes towards Europe, we find many nations that were as yet unenlightened with the knowledge of the gospel. Almost all the Germans (if we except the Bavarians, who had embraced Christianity under THEODORIC, or THIERRY, the son of CLOVIS, and the eastern Franks, with a few other provinces) lay buried in the grossest darkness of Pagan superstition. Many attempts were made, by pious and holy men, to infuse the truth into the minds of these savage Germans; and various efforts were used for the same purpose by kings and princes, whose interest it was to propagate a religion that was so adapted to mitigate and tame the ferocity of these warlike nations; but neither the attempts of pious zeal, nor the efforts of policy, were attended with success. This great work was, however, effected in this century, by the ministry of WINFRID, a Benedictine monk, born in *England* of illustrious parents, and afterwards known by the name of BONIFACE. This famous ecclesiastic, attended by two companions of his pious labours, passed over into *Friesland*, A. D. 715, to preach the gospel to the people of that country, but this first attempt was unsuccessful; and a war breaking out between RADBOD, the king of that country, and CHARLES MARTEL, our zealous missionary returned to *England*. He resumed, however, his pious undertaking in the year 719; and being solemnly impowered, by the Roman pontif GREGORY II, to preach the gospel not only in *Friesland*, but all over *Germany*, he performed the functions of a Christian

[b] THOMAS MARGENSIS, *Historiæ Monasticæ* lib. iii. in JOS. SIM. ASSEMANI *Bibliotheca Orient. Vatic.* tom. iii. part I. p. 401. See also this latter work, tom. iii. part II. cap. ix. § 5. p. 478.

teacher among the Thuringians, Frieslanders, and Hessians with considerable success [c].

III. This eminent missionary was, in the year 723, consecrated bishop by GREGORY II, who changed the name of WINFRID into that of BONIFACE; seconded also by the powerful protection, and encouraged by the liberality of CHARLES MARTEL, mayor of the palace to CHILPERIC king of *France*, he resumed his ministerial labours among the Hessians and Thuringians, and finished, with glory, the task he had undertaken, in which he received considerable assistance from a number of pious and learned men, who repaired to him from *England* and *France*. As the Christian churches erected by BONIFACE were too numerous to be governed by one bishop, this prelate was advanced to the dignity of archbishop, in the year 738, by GREGORY III, by whose authority, and the auspicious protection of CARLOMAN and PEPIN, the sons of CHARLES MARTEL, he founded, in *Germany*, the bishopricks of *Wurtzburg*, *Burabourg*, *Erfurt*, and *Aichstadt*: to which he added, in the year 744, the famous monastery of *Fulda*. His last promotion, and the last recompense of his assiduous labours in the propagation of the truth, was his advancement to the archiepiscopal see of *Mentz* A. D. 746, by ZACHARY, bishop of *Rome*, by whom he was, at the same time, created primate of *Germany* and *Belgium*. In his old age, he returned again to *Friesland*, that he might finish his ministry in the same place where he had entered first upon its functions: but his piety was ill rewarded by that barbarous people, by whom he was murdered in the year 755, while fifty ecclesiastics, who accompanied him in this voyage, shared the same unhappy fate.

IV. BONIFACE, on account of his ministerial labours and holy exploits, was distinguished by the honourable title of the *Apostle of the Germans*; nor, if we consider impartially the eminent services he rendered to Christiani-

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T I.

Other pious exploits of this famous missionary, and his advancement in the church.

The judgment we are to form concerning the apostleship of Boniface.

[c] An ample account of this eminent man is to be found in a learned dissertation of GUDENIUS, *De S. Bonifacio Germanorum Apostolo*, published in 4to at *Helmstad* in the year 1722. See also JO. AL. FABRICII *Biblioth. Latina medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 709. *Hist. Litter. de la France*, tom. iv. p. 92. MABILLON, in *Annalibus Benedictinis* &c.

C E N T. ty, will this title appear to have been undeservedly bestowed. But it is necessary to observe, that this eminent
 VIII. prelate was an apostle of modern fashion, and had, in
 P A R T I. many respects, departed from the excellent model exhibited in the conduct and ministry of the primitive and true apostles. Besides his zeal for the glory and authority of the Roman pontif, which equalled, if it did not surpass, his zeal for the service of CHRIST, and the propagation of his religion [d], many other things unworthy of a truly Christian minister are laid to his charge. In combating the Pagan superstitions, he did not always use those arms, with which the ancient heralds of the gospel gained such victories in behalf of the truth ; but often employed violence and terror, and sometimes artifice and fraud, in order to multiply the number of Christians. His *epistles*, moreover, discover an imperious and arrogant temper ; a cunning and insidious turn of mind ; an excessive zeal for increasing the honours and pretensions of the sacerdotal order ; and a profound ignorance of many things of which the knowledge was absolutely necessary in an apostle, and particularly of the true nature and genius of the Christian religion.

Other apostles preach the gospel to the Germans.

V. The famous prelate, of whom we have been now speaking, was not the only Christian minister, who attempted to deliver the *German* nations from the miserable bondage of Pagan superstition ; several others signalized their zeal in the same laudable and pious undertaking. CORBINIAN, a French Benedictine monk, after having laboured with vast assiduity and fervour in planting the gospel among the Bavarians, and other countries, became bishop of *Freisingen* [e]. FIRMIN, a Gaul by birth, preached the gospel under various kinds of suffering and opposition in *Alsatia*, *Bavaria*, and *Helvetia*, now *Switzerland*,

[d] The French Benedictine monks ingenuously confess that BONIFACE was an over-zealous partisan of the Roman pontif, and attributed more authority to him than was just and fitting. Their words, in their *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 106. are as follows : “ Il exprime son devouement pour le S. Siege en des termes qui ne sont pas assez proportionés à la dignité du Caractere episcopal.”

[e] BARONIUS, *Annal. Eccles.* tom. viii. ad An. DCCXVI. § 10. CAR. MAICHELBECK, *Historiæ Frisingensis* tom. i.

and

and had inspection over a considerable number of monasteries [f]. LEBUIN, an Englishman, laboured with the most ardent zeal and assiduity to engage the fierce and warlike Saxons, and also the Frieslanders, Belgæ, and other nations, to receive the light of Christianity; but his ministry was attended with very little fruit [g]. We pass over in silence several apostles of less fame; nor is it necessary to mention WILLIBRORD, and others of superior reputation, who persisted now with great alacrity and constancy in the labours they had undertaken, in the preceding century, in order to the propagation of divine truth.

VI. A war broke out, at this time, between CHARLEMAGNE and the Saxons, which contributed much to the propagation of Christianity, though not by the force of a rational persuasion. The Saxons were, at this time, a numerous and formidable people, who inhabited a considerable part of *Germany*, and were engaged in perpetual quarrels with the Franks concerning their boundaries and other matters of complaint. Hence CHARLEMAGNE turned his arms against this powerful nation, A. D. 772, with a design, not only to subdue that spirit of revolt, with which they had so often troubled the empire, but also to abolish their idolatrous worship, and engage them to embrace the Christian religion. He hoped, by their conversion, to vanquish their obstinacy, imagining that the divine precepts of the gospel would assuage their impetuous and restless passions, mitigate their ferocity, and induce them to submit more tamely to the government of the Franks. These projects were great in idea, but difficult in execution; accordingly, the first attempt to convert the Saxons, after having subdued them, was unsuccessful, because it was made, without the aid of violence or threats, by the bishops and monks, whom the victor had left among that conquered people, whose obstinate attachment to idolatry no arguments nor exhortations could overcome. More forcible means were afterwards used to

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T I.

The expedition of
Charlemagne against
the Saxons.

[f] HERM. BRUSCHII *Chronologia Monaster.* German. p. 30.
ANTON. PAGI *Critica in Annales Baronii*, tom. ii. ad An. DCCLIX.
§ 9. *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 124.

[g] HUCBALDI *Vita S. LEBUINI in LAUR. SURII Vitæ Sanctor.* d. 12. Nov. p. 277. JO. MOLLEII *Cimbria Litterata*, tom. ii. p. 464.

CENT.
VIII.
PART I.

draw them into the pale of the church, in the wars which CHARLEMAGNE carried on, in the years 775, 776, and 780, against that valiant people, whose love of liberty was excessive, and whose aversion to the restraints of sacerdotal authority was inexpressible [b]. During these wars, their attachment to the superstition of their ancestors was so warmly combated by the allurements of reward, by the terror of punishment, and by the imperious language of victory, that they suffered themselves to be baptized, though with inward reluctance, by the missionaries, which the emperor sent among them for that purpose [i].

[b] It will be proper here to transcribe, from the epistles of the famous ALCUIN, once abbot of *Canterbury*, a remarkable passage, which will shew us the reasons which contributed principally to give the Saxons an aversion to Christianity, and, at the same time, expose the absurd and preposterous manner of teaching used by the missionaries, who were sent to convert them. This passage, in the CIVth *epistle*, and the 1647th page of his works, is as follows: "Si tanta instantia leve CHRISTI jugum et onus ejus leve durissimo Saxorum populo prædicaretur, quanta Decimarum redditu vel legalis pro parvissimis quibuscumque culpis edictis necessitas exigebatur, forte baptismatis sacramenta non abhorrerent. Sint tandem aliquando DOCTORES FIDEI APOSTOLICIS ERUDITI EXEMPLIS; sint PRÆDICATORES NON PRÆDATORES." Here the reader may see a lively picture of the kind of apostles that flourished at this time; apostles who were more zealous in exacting tithes, and extending their authority, than in propagating the sublime truths and precepts of the gospel. And yet these very apostles are said to have wrought stupendous miracles.

[i] ALCUINUS apud WILHELMUM MALMESBUR. *De gestis regum Anglorum*, lib. i. cap. iv. p. 23. inter *Rerum Anglicar. Scriptores*, Francofurti A. D. 1601. editos. In this work we find the following passage, which proves what we have said with respect to the unworthy methods that were used in converting the Saxons: "Antiqui Saxones et omnes Fresonum populi, instante Rege CAROLO, alios PRÆMIIS et alios MINIS sollicitantes ad fidem CHRISTI conversi sunt." See also two passages in the *Capitularia Regum Francor.* tom. i. p. 246 and 252. From the first of these passages we learn that those of the Saxons, who abandoned the Pagan superstitions, were "restored to the liberty they had forfeited by the fate of arms, and freed from the obligation of paying tribute;" and in the second, we find the following severe law, that "every Saxon, who contemptuously refused to receive the sacrament of baptism, and persisted in his adherence to Paganism, was to be punished with death." While such rewards and punishments were employed in the cause of religion, there was no occasion for miracles to advance its progress, for these motives were sufficient to draw all mankind to an hypocritical and external profession of the gospel; but it is easy to imagine what sort of Christians the Saxons must have been, who

These

These seditions, indeed, were soon after renewed, and fomented by WIDEKIND and ALBION, two of the most valiant among the Saxon chiefs, who attempted to abolish the Christian worship by the same violent methods which had contributed to its establishment. But the courage and liberality of CHARLEMAGNE, alternately employed to suppress this new rebellion, engaged these chiefs to make a public and solemn profession of Christianity, in the year 785, and to promise an adherence to that divine religion for the rest of their days [k]. To prevent, however, the Saxons from renouncing a religion, which they had embraced with reluctance, several bishops were appointed to reside among them, schools also were erected, and monasteries founded, that the means of instruction might not be wanting. The same precautions were employed among the Huns in *Pannonia*, to maintain in the profession of Christianity that fierce people, whom CHARLEMAGNE had converted to the faith, when, exhausted and dejected by various defeats, they were no longer able to make head against his victorious arms, and chose rather to be *Christians* than *slaves* [l].

VII. Succeeding generations, filled with a grateful sense of the famous exploits which CHARLEMAGNE had performed in the service of Christianity, canonised his memory, and turned this bloody warrior into an eminent saint. In the twelfth century, FREDERIC I, emperor of the Romans, ordered PASCHAL II, whom he had raised to the pontificate, to enroll the name of this mighty conqueror among the tutelary saints of the church [m]. And

were dragooned into the church in this abominable manner. Compare with the authors mentioned in this note, LAUNOIUS, *De veteri more baptizandi Judæos et Infideles*, cap. v, vi. p. 703. tom. ii. Opp. part II. This author assures us, that ADRIAN, the first Roman pontif of that name, honoured with his approbation CHARLEMAGNE's method of converting the Saxons.

[k] EGINARTUS, *De vita Caroli M.* ADAM BREMENSIS, lib. i. cap. viii.. See also the writers of the history and exploits of CHARLEMAGNE, which are mentioned by JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, in his *Bibliotheca Latina mediæ ævi*, tom. i. p. 959.

[l] *Vita S. Rudberti* in HENRIC. CANISH *Lectiōibus Antiquis*, tom. iii. part II. p. 340. PAULI DEBRECENI *Historia Ecclesiæ Reformat. in Hungar. et Transilvania* a LAMPPIO edita, part I. cap. ii. p. 10.

[m] Vid. HENR. CANISH *Lectiōes Antiquæ*, tom. iii. part II. p. 207. WALCHII *Dissert. de Caroli Magni Canonizatione*.

VOL. II.

E

indeed

The judgment we ought to form of the conversions made by Charlemagne.

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

indeed CHARLEMAGNE merited this honour, according to the opinions which prevailed at that period of time; for to have enriched the clergy with large and magnificent donations [n], and to have extended the boundaries of the church, no matter by what methods, was then considered as the highest merit, and as a sufficient pretension to the honour of *sainthood*. But in the esteem of those, who judge of the nature and characters of *sanctity* by the decisions of the gospel upon that head, the *sainted* emperor will appear utterly unworthy of that ghostly dignity. For, not to enter into a particular detail of his vices, whose number counterbalanced that of his virtues, it is undeniably evident, that his ardent and ill-conducted zeal for the conversion of the Huns, Frieslanders, and Saxons, was more animated by the suggestions of ambition, than by a principle of true piety; and that his main view in these religious exploits was to subdue the converted nations under his dominion, and to tame them to his yoke, which they supported with impatience, and shook off by frequent revolts. It is, moreover, well known, that this boasted saint made no scruple of seeking the alliance of the infidel Saracens, that he might be more effectually enabled to crush the Greeks, notwithstanding their profession of the Christian religion [o].

And of the
miracles
which are
said to have
been performed
in this
century.

VIII. The many and stupendous miracles, which are said to have been wrought by the Christian missionaries, who were sent to convert the barbarous nations, have lost, in our times, the credit they obtained in former ages. The corrupt discipline that then prevailed admitted of those fallacious stratagems, which are very improperly called *pious* frauds; nor did the heralds of the gospel think it at all unlawful to terrify or allure to the profession of Christianity, by fictitious prodigies, those obdurate hearts, which they could not subdue by reason and argument. It is not, however, to be supposed, that all those, who acquired renown by their miracles, were chargeable with this fanatical species of artifice and fraud. For as, on the one hand, those ignorant and superstitious nations were dis-

[n] Vid. CAROLI Testamentum in STEPH. BALUZII *Capitularibus Regum Francor.* tom. i. p. 487.

[o] See BASNAGE, *Histoire des Juifs*, tom. ix. cap. ii. p. 40.

posed to look upon, as miraculous, every event, which had an unusual aspect; so, on the other, the Christian doctors themselves were so uninstructed and superficial, so little acquainted with the powers of nature, and the relations and connexions of things in their ordinary course, that uncommon events, however natural, were considered by them as miraculous interpositions of the Most High. This will appear obvious to such as, void of superstition and partiality, read the *Acts of the saints*, who flourished in this and the following centuries.

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T I.

C H A P. II.

Concerning the calamitous events, which happened to the church during this century.

I. **T**HE eastern empire had now fallen from its former strength and grandeur, through the repeated shocks of dreadful revolutions, and the consuming power of intestine calamities. The throne was now become the seat of terror, inquietude, and suspicion; nor was any reign attended with an uninterrupted tranquillity. In this century three emperors were dethroned, loaded with ignominy, and sent into banishment. Under LEO the Isaurian, and his son CONSTANTINE, surnamed COPRONYMUS, arose that fatal controversy about the worship of images, which proved a source of innumerable calamities and troubles, and weakened, almost incredibly, the force of the empire. These troubles and dissensions left the Saracens at liberty to ravage the provinces of *Asia* and *Africa*, to oppress the Greeks in the most barbarous manner, and to extend their territories and dominion on all sides, as also to oppose every where the progress of Christianity, and, in some places, to extirpate it entirely. But the troubles of the empire, and the calamities of the church, did not end here: for about the middle of this century, they were assailed by new enemies, still more fierce and inhuman than those whose usurpations they had hitherto suffered. These were the Turks, a tribe of the Tartars, or at least their descendants, who, breaking forth from the inaccessible wilds about mount *Caucasus*, overspread *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, rushed from thence into *Armenia*, and,

The Saracens become masters in the east.

The incursion of the Turks.

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T I.

Their pro-
gress in the
west.

and, after having subdued the Saracens, turned their victorious arms against the Greeks, whom, in process of time, they reduced under their dominion.

II. In the year 714, the Saracens crossed the sea, which separates *Spain* from *Africa*, dispersed the army of RODERIC king of the Spanish Goths [p], whose defeat was principally due to the treachery of their general JULIAN, and made themselves masters of the greatest part of the territories of this vanquished prince. About the same time the empire of the Visigoths, which had subsisted in *Spain* above three hundred years, was totally overturned by these fierce and savage invaders, who also took possession of all the maritime coasts of *Gaul* from the Pyrenean mountains to the river *Rhone*, from whence they made frequent excursions, and ravaged the neighbouring countries with fire and sword.

The rapid progress of these bold invaders was, indeed, checked by CHARLES MARTEL, who gained a signal victory over them in a bloody action near the city of *Poitiers*, A. D. 732 [q]. But the vanquished spoilers soon recovered their strength and their ferocity, and returned with new violence to their devastations. This engaged CHARLEMAGNE to lead a formidable army into *Spain*, with a design to deliver that whole country from the oppressive yoke of the Saracens: but this grand enterprize, though it did not entirely miscarry, was not, however, attended with the signal success, that was expected from it [r]. The inroads of this warlike people were felt by many of the western provinces, besides those of *France* and *Spain*. Several parts of *Italy* suffered from their incursions; the island of *Sardinia* was reduced under their yoke; and *Sicily* was ravaged and oppressed by them in the most inhuman manner. Hence the Christian religion in *Spain* and *Sardinia* suffered inexpressibly under these violent usurpers.

[p] JO. MARIANA, *Rerum Hispanicarum*, lib. vi. cap. xxi. EUSEBE RENAUDOT. *Historia Patriarch. Alexandrin.* p. 253. JO. DE FERRERAS, *Histoire de l'Espagne*, tom. ii. p. 425.

[q] PAULUS DIACONUS, *De gestis Longobard.* lib. vi. cap. xlviii. JO. MARIANA, *Rerum Hispan.* lib. vii. cap. iii. BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article ABDERAMUS. FERRERAS, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. ii. p. 463.

[r] HENR. de BUNAU, *Teutsche Kayser-und Reich's-Historie*, tom. ii. p. 392. FERRERAS, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. ii. p. 506.

In

In *Germany*, and the adjacent countries, the Christians were assailed by another sort of enemies; for all such as adhered to the Pagan superstitions beheld them with the most inveterate hatred, and persecuted them with the most unrelenting violence and fury [s]. Hence, in several places, castles and fortresses were erected to restrain the incursions of these Barbarian zealots.

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T I.

[s] SERVATI LUPi *vita Wigberti*, p. 304.

E 3

P A R T

P A R T II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during this century.

C E N T. VIII.
P A R T II.

The state of
learning a-
mong the
Greeks,

I. **T**HERE were not wanting among the Greeks men of genius and talents, who might have contributed to prevent the total decline of literature; but their zeal was damped by the tumults and desolations that reigned in the empire; and while both church and state were menaced with approaching ruin, the learned were left destitute of that protection which gives both vigour and success to the culture of the arts and sciences. Hence few or none of the Greeks were at all famous either for elegance of diction, true wit, copious erudition, or a zealous attachment to the study of philosophy, and the investigation of truth. Frigid homilies, insipid narrations of the exploits of pretended saints, vain and subtle disputes about unessential and trivial subjects, vehement and bombastic declamations for or against the erection and worship of images, histories composed without method or judgment; such were monuments of Grecian learning in this miserable age.

The progress
of the Ari-
stotelian
philosophy.

II. It must, however, be observed, that the Aristotelian philosophy was taught every where in the public schools, and was propagated in all places with considerable success. The doctrine of PLATO had lost all its credit in the schools, after the repeated sentences of condemnation that had been passed upon the opinions of ORIGEN, and the troubles which the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies had excited in the church; so that Platonism now was almost confined to the solitary retreats of the monastic orders. Of all the writers in this century, who contributed to the illustration and progress of the Aristotelian philosophy, the most eminent was JOHN DAMASCENUS, who composed a concise, plain, and com-

comprehensive view of the doctrines of the Stagirite, for the instruction of the more ignorant, and in a manner adapted to common capacities. This little work excited numbers, both in *Greece* and *Syria*, to the study of that philosophy, whose proselytes increased daily. The Nestorians and Jacobites were also extremely diligent in the study of ARISTOTLE's writings, from whence they armed themselves with sophisms and quibbles, which they employed against the Greeks in the controversy concerning the nature and person of CHRIST.

III. The literary history of the Latins exhibits innumerable instances of the grossest ignorance [a], which will not, however, appear surprizing to such as consider, with attention, the state of *Europe* in this century. If we except some poor remains of learning, which were yet to be found at *Rome*, and in certain cities of *Italy* [b], the sciences seemed to have abandoned the continent, and fixed their residence in *Britain* and *Ireland* [c]. Those, therefore, of the Latin writers, who were distinguished by their learning and genius, were all (a few French and Italians excepted) either British or Scotch, such as ALCUIN, BEDE, EGBERT, CLEMENS, DUNGALLUS, ACCA, and others. CHARLEMAGNE, whose political talents were embellished by a considerable degree of learning, and an ardent zeal for the culture of the sciences, endeavoured to dispel the profound ignorance that reigned in his dominions; in which excellent undertaking he was animated and directed by the counsels of ALCUIN. With this view he drew, first from *Italy*, and afterwards from *Britain* and *Ireland*, by his liberality, eminent men, who had distinguished themselves in the various branches of literature; and excited the several orders of the clergy and monks by various encouragements, and the nobility, and others of eminent rank, by his own example, to the pursuit of knowledge in all its branches, human and divine.

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

The revival
of learning
among the
Latins by
Charle-
magne.

VI. In the prosecution of this noble design, the greatest part of the bishops erected, by the express order of the

Cathedral
and mona-
stic schools
erected.

[a] VID. STEPH. BALUZ, *Observat. ad Reginonem Prumiensem* p. 540.

[b] LUD. ANT. MURATORI *Antiq. Italicae medii ævi*, tom. iii. p. 811.

[c] JAC. USSERIUS, *Præf. ad Syllogen Epistolarum Hibernicarum*.

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

emperor, cathedral schools (so called from their lying contiguous to the principal church in each diocese) in which the youth, which were set apart for the service of CHRIST, received a learned and religious education. Those also of the abbots, who had any zeal for the cause of Christianity, opened schools in their monasteries, in which the more learned of the fraternity instructed such as were designed for the monastic state, or the sacerdotal order, in the Latin language, and other branches of learning suitable to their future destination. It was formerly believed, that the university of *Paris* was erected by CHARLEMAGNE, but this opinion is rejected by such as have studied, with impartiality, the history of this age; though it is undeniably evident that this great prince had the honour of laying, in some measure, the foundation of that noble institution, and that the beginnings from which it arose were owing entirely to him [d]. However this question be decided, it is undeniably certain, that the zeal of this emperor, for the propagation and advancement of letters, was very great, and manifested its ardor by a considerable number of excellent establishments; nor among others must we pass with silence the famous *Palatine* school, which he erected with a view to banish ignorance from his court; and in which the princes of the blood, and the children of the nobility, were educated by the most learned and illustrious masters of the times [e].

But not attended with the desired success.

V. These excellent establishments were not, however, attended with the desired success; nor was the improvement of the youth, in learning and virtue, at all proportioned to the pains that were taken, and the bounty that was bestowed to procure them a liberal education. This, indeed, will not appear surprizing, when we consider that the most learned and renowned masters of these times were men of very little genius and abilities, and that their system of erudition and philoso-

[d] The reasons that have been used, to prove CHARLEMAGNE the founder of the university of *Paris*, are accurately collected in DU BOULAY, *Historia Academiae Paris.* tom. i. p. 91. But they have been refuted by the following learned men in a victorious manner, viz. MABILLON, *Act. Sanct. Ord. Benedict.* tom. v. *Præf.* § 181, 182. LAUNOY. CLAUD. JOLY, *De scholis.*

[e] BOULAY, *Histor. Academ. Paris.* tom. i. p. 281. MABILLON, l. c. § 179.

phy was nothing more than a lean and ghastly skeleton equally unfit for ornament and use. The whole circle of sciences was composed of, what they called, the seven liberal arts, viz. grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy [f]; the three former of which they distinguished by the title of *trivium*, and the four latter by that of *quadrivium*. Nothing can be conceived more wretchedly barbarous than the manner in which these sciences were taught, as we may easily perceive from ALCUIN's treatise concerning them [g]; and the dissertations of St. AUGUSTIN on the same subject, which were in the highest repute at this time. In the greatest part of the schools, the public teachers ventured no further than the *trivium*, and confined their instructions to grammar, rhetoric, and logic: they, however, who, after passing the *trivium*, and also the *quadrivium*, were desirous of rising yet higher in their literary pursuits, were exhorted to apply themselves to the study of CASSIODORE and BOETHIUS, as if the progress of human knowledge was bounded by the discoveries of those two learned writers.

C H A P. II.

Concerning the doctors and ministers of the church, and its form of government, during this century.

I. **T**HAT corruption of manners, which dishonoured the clergy in the former century, increased, instead of diminishing, in this, and discovered itself under the most odious characters, both in the eastern and western provinces. In the east there arose the most violent dissensions and quarrels among the bishops and doctors of the church, who, forgetting the duties of their sta-

The vices of
the clergy.

[f] HERM. CONRINGII *Antiquitat. Academica*, Diff. iii. p. 80. JAC. THOMASII *Programmata*, p. 368. *Observation. Halensium*, tom. vi. *Observ.* xiv. p. 118.

[g] ALCUINI *Opera*, part ii. p. 1245. edit. Quercetani. It is, however, to be observed, that the treatise of ALCUIN, here referred to, is not only imperfect, but is almost entirely transcribed from CASSIODORE.

tions,

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

tions, and the cause of CHRIST in which they were engaged, threw the state into combustion by their outrageous clamours, and their scandalous divisions; and even went so far as to embrue their hands in the blood of their brethren who differed from them in opinion. In the western world, Christianity was not less disgraced by the lives and actions of those who pretended to be the luminaries of the church, and who ought to have been so in reality by exhibiting examples of piety and virtue to their flock. The clergy abandoned themselves to their passions without moderation or restraint: they were distinguished by their luxury, their gluttony, and their lust; they gave themselves up to dissipations of various kinds, to the pleasures of hunting, and, what was still more remote from their sacred character, to military studies [b] and enterprises. They had also so far extinguished every principle of fear and shame, that they became incorrigible; nor could the various laws enacted against their vices by CARLOMAN, PEPIN, and CHARLEMAGNE at all contribute to set bounds to their licentiousness, or to bring about their reformation [i].

The veneration in which the clergy were held in the west.

II. It is, indeed, amazing, that, notwithstanding the shocking nature of such vices, especially in a set of men whose profession obliged them to display to the world the attracting lustre of virtuous example; and notwithstanding the perpetual troubles and complaints which these vices occasioned; the clergy were still held, corrupt as they were, in the highest veneration, and were honoured, as a sort of deities, by the submissive multitude. This veneration for the bishops and clergy, and the influence and authority it gave them over the people, were, indeed, carried much higher in the west than in the eastern provinces; and the reasons of this difference will appear manifest to such as consider the customs and manners that prevailed among the barbarous nations, which were, at this time, masters of *Europe*, before their conversion to Christianity. All these nations, during their continuance under the darkness of paganism, were absolutely enslaved

[b] STEPH. BALUZIUS, *ad Reginon. Prumiensem*, p. 563. WILKINS, *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae*, tom. i. p. 90.

[i] STEPH. BALUZ. *Capitular. regum Francor.* tom. i. p. 189. 208. 275. 493, &c.

to their priests, without whose counsel and authority they transacted nothing of the least importance, either in civil or military affairs [k]. Upon their conversion to Christianity, they, therefore, thought proper to transfer to the ministers of their new religion, the rights and privileges of their former priests: and the Christian bishops, in their turn, were not only ready to accept the offer, but used all their diligence and dexterity to secure and assert to themselves, and their successors, the dominion and authority which the ministers of paganism had usurped over an ignorant and brutish people.

III. The honours and privileges, which the western nations had voluntarily conferred upon the bishops, and other doctors of the church, were now augmented with new and immense accessions of opulence and authority. The endowments of the church and monasteries, and the revenues of the bishops, were hitherto considerable; but in this century a new and ingenious method was

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

Their riches
increased,
and their
privileges
multiplied.

[k] JULIUS CÆSAR, *De bello Gallico*, lib. v. c. 13. "Druides magno sunt apud eos honore: nam fere de omnibus controversiis, publicis privatisque, constituunt; et, si quod est admissum facinus, si cædes facta, si de hæreditate, si de finibus controversia est, iidem decernunt, præmia, pœnasque constituunt: si qui aut publicus eorum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt—Druides a bello abesse consueverunt, neque tributa una cum reliquis pendunt: militiæ vacationem, omniumque verum habent immunitatem. Tantis excitati præmiis, et sua sponte multi in disciplinam conveniunt, et a parentibus propinquisque mittuntur." TACITUS (*De mor. Germanorum*, cap. vii. p. 384. edit. Gronov.) expresses also the power and authority of the priests or Druids in the following terms: "Neque enim animadvertere, neque vincire, neque verberare quidem, nisi sacerdotibus permissum, non quasi in pœnam, nec ducis jussu, sed velut Deo imperante." And again, cap. ii. "Silentium per sacerdotes, quibus et tum coercendi jus est, imperatur." HELMOLDUS, *Cbron. Sclavorum*, lib. i. cap. xxxvi. p. 90. expresses himself to the same purpose, "Major Flaminis, quam Regis, apud ipsos veneratio est." And again, lib. ii. cap. xii. p. 235. "Rex apud eos modicæ æstimationis est comparatione Flaminis. Ille enim responsa perquirat—Rex et populus ad illius nutum pendunt." This ancient custom of honouring their priests, and submitting, in all things, to their decisions, was still preserved by the Germans, and the other European nations, after their conversion to Christianity: and this furnishes a satisfactory answer to that question, viz. How it came to pass, that the Christian priesthood obtained in the west that enormous degree of authority, which is so contrary to the positive precepts of CHRIST, and the nature and genius of his divine religion.

found

CENT.
VIII.
PART II.

found out of acquiring much greater riches to the church, and of increasing its wealth through succeeding ages. An opinion prevailed universally at this time, though its authors are not known, that the punishment which the righteous judge of the world has reserved for the transgressions of the wicked, was to be prevented and annulled, by liberal donations to God, to the saints, to the churches and clergy. In consequence of this notion, the great and opulent, who were, generally speaking, the most remarkable for their flagitious and abominable lives, offered, out of the abundance which they had received by inheritance, or acquired by rapine, rich donations to departed saints, their ministers upon earth, and the keepers of the temples that were erected in their honour, in order to avoid the sufferings and penalties annexed by the priests to transgression in this life [l], and to escape the misery denounced against the wicked in a future state. This new and commodious method of making atonement for iniquity, was the principal source of those immense treasures, which, from this period, began to flow in upon the clergy, the churches, and monasteries, and continued to enrich them through succeeding ages down to the present time [m].

They are
invested
with prin-
cipalities and
royal do-
mains.

IV. But here it is highly worthy of observation, that the donations which princes and persons of the first rank presented, in order to make expiation for their sins, and to satisfy the justice of God, and the demands of the clergy, did not only consist in those *private* possessions, which every citizen may enjoy, and with which the churches and convents were already abundantly enriched ;

[l] The temporal penalties here mentioned were rigorous fasts, bodily pains and mortifications, long and frequent prayers, pilgrimages to the tombs of saints and martyrs, and such like austerities. These were the penalties, which the priests imposed upon such as had confessed their crimes ; and as they were singularly grievous to those who had led voluptuous lives, and were desirous of continuing in the same course of licentious pleasure, effeminacy, and ease ; the richer sort of transgressors embraced eagerly this new method of expiation, and willingly gave a part of their substance to avoid such severe and rigorous penalties.

[m] Hence, by a known form of speech, they who offered donations to the church or clergy were said to do this for *the redemption of their soul* ; and the gifts themselves were generally called *the price of transgression*. See LUD. ANT. MURATORI *Diff. De Redemptione Peccatorum*, in his *Antiquitates Italicae mediæ ævi*, tom. v. p. 712.

no ;

no : these donations were carried to a much more extravagant length, and the church was endowed with several of those *public* grants, which are peculiar to princes and sovereign states, and which are commonly called *regalia*, or royal domains. Emperors, kings, and princes, signalized their superstitious veneration for the clergy, by investing bishops, churches, and monasteries, in the possession of whole provinces, cities, castles, and fortresses, with all the rights and prerogatives of sovereignty that were annexed to them under the dominion of their former masters. Hence it came to pass that they, who, by their holy profession, were appointed to proclaim to the world the vanity of human grandeur, and to inspire into the minds of men, by their instructions and their example, a noble contempt of sublunary things, became themselves scandalous spectacles of worldly pomp, ambition, and splendour ; were created *dukes*, *counts*, and *marquises*, judges, legislators, and sovereigns ; and not only gave laws to nations, but also, upon many occasions, gave battle to their enemies at the head of numerous armies of their own raising. It is here that we are to look for the source of those dreadful tumults and calamities, that spread desolation through *Europe*, in after-times, particularly of those bloody wars concerning *investitures*, and those obstinate contentions and disputes about the *regalia*.

V. The excessive donations that were made to the clergy, and that extravagant liberality that augmented daily the treasures of the European churches (to which these donations and this liberality were totally confined) began in this century ; nor do we find any examples of the like munificence in preceding times. From hence we may conclude, that these donations were owing to customs peculiar to the European nations, and to the maxims of policy that were established among those warlike people. The kings of these nations, who were employed either in usurpation or self-defence, endeavoured, by all means, to attach warmly to their interests those whom they considered as their friends and clients ; and, for this purpose, they distributed among them extensive territories, cities, and fortresses, with the various rights and privileges belonging to them, reserving to themselves no more than the supreme dominion, and also the military service of their powerful vassals.

The causes
of this ex-
cessive liber-
ality to the
clergy.

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

vassals. This then being the method of governing customary in *Europe*, it was esteemed by princes a high instance of political prudence to distribute among the bishops, and other Christian doctors, the same sort of donations that they had formerly made to their generals and clients; for it is not to be believed, that superstition alone was always the principle that drew forth their liberality. They expected more fidelity and loyalty from a set of men, who were bound by the obligations of religion, and consecrated to the service of God, than from a body of nobility, composed of fierce and impetuous warriors, and accustomed to little else than blood-shed and rapine. And they hoped also to check the seditious and turbulent spirits of their vassals, and maintain them in their obedience, by the influence and authority of the bishops, whose commands were highly respected, and whose spiritual thunderbolts, rendered formidable by ignorance, struck terror into the boldest and most resolute hearts [n].

Particularly
to the Ro-
man pontif.

VI. This prodigious accession to the opulence and authority of the clergy in the west began at their head, the Roman pontif, and spread gradually from thence among the inferior bishops, and also among the sacerdotal and monastic orders. The barbarous nations, who re-

[n] The account here given of the rise of the clergy to such enormous degrees of opulence and authority is corroborated by the following remarkable passage of WILLIAM of MALMESBURY (Lib. v. *De rebus gestis regum Angliæ*), "Carolus Magnus, pro contundenda gentium illarum ferocia, omnes pene terras ecclesiis contulerat, con-filiosissime perpendens, nolle sacri ordinis homines, tam facile quam Laicos, fidelitatem Domini rejicere: præterea si Laici rebellarent, illos posse excommunicationis auctoritate et potentie severitate compescere." This is, doubtless, the true reason why CHARLEMAGNE, who was far from being a superstitious prince, or a slave to the clergy, augmented so vastly the jurisdiction of the Roman pontif in Germany, Italy, and the other countries, where he had extended his conquests, and accumulated upon the bishops such ample possessions. He expected more loyalty and submission from the clergy than from the laity; and he augmented the riches and authority of the former, in order to secure his throne against the assaults of the latter. As the bishops were universally held in the highest veneration, he made use of their influence in checking the rebellious spirit of his dukes, counts, and knights, who were frequently very troublesome. CHARLEMAGNE, for instance, had much to fear from the dukes of *Benevento*, *Spoleto*, and *Capua*, when the government of the Lombards was overturned: he therefore made over a considerable part of *Italy* to the Roman pontif, whose ghostly authority, opulence, and threatnings received

ceived the gospel, looked upon the bishop of *Rome*, as the successor of their chief *druid*, or high priest. And as this tremendous druid had enjoyed, under the darkness of paganism, a boundless authority, and had been treated with a degree of veneration, that, through its servile excess, degenerated into terror; so the barbarous nations, upon their conversion to Christianity, thought proper to confer upon the chief of the bishops the same honours and the same authority that had formerly been vested in their *arch-druid* [o]. The Roman pontif received, with something more than a mere ghostly delight, these august privileges; and least, upon any change of affairs, attempts might be made to deprive him of them, he strengthened his title to these extraordinary honours, by a variety of passages drawn from ancient history, and, what was still more astonishing, by arguments of a religious nature. This conduct of a superstitious people swelled the arrogance of the Roman druid to an enormous size; and gave to the see of *Rome* that high pre-eminence and that despotic authority, in civil and political matters, that were unknown to former ages. Hence, among other unhappy circumstances, arose that most monstrous and most pernicious opinion, that such persons as were excluded from the communion of the church by the pontif himself, or any of the bishops, forfeited thereby not only their civil rights and advantages as citizens, but even the common claims and privileges of hu-

were so proper to restrain those powerful and vindictive princes from seditious insurrections, or to quell such tumults as they might venture to excite. Nor was CHARLEMAGNE the only prince who honoured the clergy from such political views; the other kings and princes of *Europe* acted much in the same manner, and from the same principles, as will appear evident to all who consider, with attention, the forms of government, and the methods of governing, that took place in this century. So that the excessive augmentation of sacerdotal opulence and authority, which many look upon as the work of superstition alone, was, in many instances, an effect of political prudence. We shall consider, presently, the terrors of *excommunication*, which WILLIAM of MALMESBURY touches but cursorily in the latter words of the passages above quoted.

[o] CÆSAR speaks thus of the chief or arch-druid: "His omnibus druidibus præest unus, qui SUMMAM inter eos (Celtas) habet auctoritatem. Hoc mortuo, si qui ex reliquis excellit dignitate, succedit. At si sunt plures pares, suffragio Druidum adlegitur: nonnunquam etiam armis de principatu contendunt." Vide JUL. CÆSAR, *De bello Gallico*, lib. vi. cap. xiii.

manity.

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

The Roman pontif obtains an addition to his authority, by favouring the ambition of Pepin.

manity. This horrid opinion, which was a fatal source of wars, massacres, and rebellions without number, and which contributed more than any thing else to augment and confirm the papal authority, was, unhappily for Europe, borrowed by Christians, or rather by the clergy, from the Pagan superstitions [p].

VII. We see in the annals of the French nation the following remarkable and shocking instance of the enormous power that was, at this time, vested in the Roman pontif. PEPIN, who was *mayor of the palace* to CHIL-

[p] Though *excommunication*, from the time of CONSTANTINE the Great, was, in every part of the Christian world, attended with many disagreeable effects, yet its highest terrors were confined to Europe, where its aspect was truly formidable and hideous. It acquired also, in the eighth century, new accessions of terror; so that, from that period, the *excommunication* practised in Europe differed entirely from that which was in use in other parts of *Christendom*. Excommunicated persons were indeed considered, in all places, as objects of averision both to God and men: but they were not, on this account, robbed of the privileges of citizens, nor of the rights of humanity; much less were those kings and princes, whom an insolent bishop had thought proper to exclude from the communion of the church, supposed to forfeit, on that account, their crowns or their territories. But, from this century, it was quite otherwise in Europe; excommunication received that infernal power which dissolved all connexions; so that those whom the bishops, or their chief, excluded from church communion, were degraded to a level with the beasts. Under this horrid sentence, the king, the ruler, the husband, the father, nay, even the *man*, forfeited all their rights, all their advantages, the claims of nature, and the privileges of society. What then was the origin of this unnatural power which excommunication acquired? It was briefly as follows: Upon the conversion of the barbarous nations to Christianity, these new and ignorant profelytes confounded the *excommunication* in use among Christians with *that* which had been practised in the times of paganism by the priests of the gods, and considered them as of the same nature and effect. The Roman pontifs, on the other hand, were too artful not to countenance and encourage this error; and, therefore, employed all sorts of means to gain credit to an opinion so proper to gratify their ambition, and to aggrandize, in general, the episcopal order. That this is the true origin of the extensive and horrid influence of the European and Papal excommunication, will appear evident to such as cast an eye upon the following passage of CÆSAR, *De bello Gallico*, lib. vi. cap. xiii. “ Si qui aut privatus aut publicus Druidum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Hæc poena est apud eos gravissima. Quibus ita est interdictum, ii numero impiorum et sceleratorum habentur, iis omnes decedunt, aditum eorum sermonemque defugiunt, ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant: neque iis per tentibus JUS REDDITUR, neque honos ullus communicatur.”

DERIC

DERIC III, and who, in the exercise of that high office, was possessed, in reality, of the royal power and authority, not contented with this, aspired to the titles and honours of majesty, and formed the design of dethroning his sovereign. For this purpose the states of the realm were assembled by PEPIN, A. D. 751; and though they were devoted to the interests of this ambitious usurper, they gave it as their opinion, that the bishop of Rome was previously to be consulted, whether the execution of such a project was lawful or not. In consequence of this, ambassadors were sent by PEPIN to ZACHARY, the reigning pontif, with the following question: *Whether the divine law did not permit a valiant and war-like people to dethrone a pusillanimous and indolent monarch, who was incapable of discharging any of the functions of royalty, and to substitute in his place one more worthy to rule, and who had already rendered most important services to the state?* The situation of ZACHARY, who stood much in need of the succours of PEPIN against the Greeks and Lombards, rendered his answer such as the usurper desired. And when this favourable decision of the Roman oracle was published in France, the unhappy CHILDERIC was stripped of royalty without the least opposition; and PEPIN, without the smallest resistance from any quarter, stepped into the throne of his master and his sovereign. Let the abettors of the papal authority see, how they can justify in CHRIST's pretended vice-gerent upon earth a decision, which is so glaringly repugnant to the laws and precepts of the divine Saviour [q]. This decision

[q] See LE COINTE *Annal. Franciæ Eccles.* MEZERAY, DANNIEL, and the other Gallic and German historians, concerning this important event; but particularly BOSSUET *Defens. declarationis Cleri Gallicani*, part I. p. 225. PETR. RIVAL *Dissertationes Histor. et Critiques sur divers sujets*, Diss. ii. p. 70. Diss. iii. p. 156. Lond. 1726, in 8vo. HENR. de BUNAU, *Historia Imperii Germanici*, tom. ii. p. 288. This remarkable event is not, indeed, related in the same manner by all historians, and it is generally represented under the falsest colours by those, who, from a spirit of blind zeal and excessive adulation, seize every occasion of exalting the dignity and authority of the bishops of Rome. Such writers assert, that it was by ZACHARY's authority as pontif, and not, in consequence of his opinion as a casuist or divine, that the crown was taken from the head of CHILDERIC, and placed upon that of PEPIN. But this the French absolutely and justly deny. Had it, however, been so, the crime of the pontif would have been much greater than it was in reality.

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

The advantages derived to the see of Rome from the attachments of its bishops to the kings of France.

was solemnly confirmed by STEPHEN II, the successor of ZACHARY, who undertook a journey into *France*, in the year 754, in order to solicit assistance against the Lombards; and who, at the same time, dissolved the obligation of the oath of fidelity and allegiance which PEPIN had sworn to CHILDERIC, and violated, by his usurpation, in the year 751. And to render his title to the crown as sacred as possible, STEPHEN anointed and crowned him, with his wife and two sons, for the second time [r].

VIII. This compliance of the Roman pontiffs proved an abundant source of opulence and credit to the church, and to its aspiring ministers. When that part of *Italy*, which was as yet subject to the Grecian empire, was involved in confusion and trouble, by the seditions and tumults which arose from the imperial edicts [s] against the erection and worship of images; the kings of the Lombards employed the united influence of their arms and negotiations in order to terminate these contests. Their success, indeed, was only advantageous to themselves; for they managed matters so as to become, by degrees, masters of the Grecian provinces in *Italy*, which were subject to the Exarch, who resided at *Ravenna*. Nay, one of these monarchs, named AISTULPHUS, carried his views still further. Elated with these new accessions

[r] PEPIN had been anointed, by the legate BONIFACE at *Soissons*, soon after his election; but thinking that ceremony performed by the pope, would recommend him more to the respect of his subjects, he desired that it should be performed anew by STEPHEN. PEPIN is the first French monarch, who received this union as a ceremony of coronation, at least according to the reports of the most credible historians. His predecessors were proclaimed by being lifted up on a shield, and the holy *psalm* of CLOVIS is now universally regarded as fabulous. The custom of anointing kings at their coronation was, however, more ancient than the time of PEPIN, and was observed long before that period both in *Scotland* and *Spain*. See EDMUND MARTENE, *De Antiq. Eccles. Ritib.* tom. iii. cap. x. As also BUNAU, *Historia Imperii Germanici*, tom. ii. p. 301. 366.

[s] The author has here in view the edicts of LEO ISAURICUS and CONSTANTINE COPRONYMUS. The former published in the year 726, a famous edict against the worship of images, which occasioned many contests and much disturbance both in church and state; and the latter assembled at *Constantinople*, in the year 754, a council of 338 bishops, who unanimously condemned not only the worship, but also, the use, of images.

to his dominions, he meditated the conquest of *Rome* and its territory, and formed the ambitious project of reducing all *Italy* under the yoke of the Lombards. The terrified pontif, STEPHEN II, addresses himself to his powerful patron and protector PEPIN, represents to him his deplorable condition, and implores his assistance. The French monarch embarks, with zeal, in the cause of the suppliant pontif; crosses the *Alps*, A. D. 754, with a numerous army; and having defeated AISTULPHUS, obliged him, by a solemn treaty, to deliver up to the see of *Rome*, the exarchate of *Ravenna*, *Pentapolis*, and all the cities, castles, and territories which he had seized in the Roman dukedom. It was not, however, long before the Lombard prince violated, without remorse, an engagement which he had entered into with reluctance. In the year 755 he laid siege to *Rome* for the second time, but was again obliged to sue for peace by the victorious arms of PEPIN, who returned into *Italy*, and forcing the Lombard to execute the treaty he had so audaciously violated, made a new grant of the exarchate [1], and of *Pentapolis* to the Roman pontif and his successors in the apostolic see of St. PETER. And thus was the bishop of *Rome* raised to the rank of a temporal prince.

The donation of Pepin to that see.

[1] See CAR. SIGONIUS, *De regno Italiae*, lib. iii. p. 202. tom. ii. opp. BUNAU, *Historia Imperii Germanici*, tom. ii. p. 301. 366. MURATORI *Annali d'Italiae*, tom. iv. p. 310. The real limits of the *exarchate*, granted by PEPIN to the Roman pontif, have been much controverted among the learned, and have, particularly in our times, employed the researches of several eminent writers. The bishops of *Rome* extend the limits of this *exarchate* as far as they can with any appearance of decency or probability; while their adversaries are as zealous in contracting this famous grant within narrower bounds. See LUD. ANT. MURATOR. *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclesiastique*, cap. i, ii. As also his *Antiquit. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 64. 68. 986, 987. The same author treats the matter with more circumspection, tom. v. p. 790. This controversy can only be terminated with facility by an inspection of PEPIN's grant of the territory in question. FONTANINI, in his *First defence of the temporal jurisdiction of the see of Rome over the city of Commachio*, written in Italian, intimates, that this grant is still in being, and even makes use of some phrases that are contained in it (see the pages 242 and 346 of that work). This, however, will scarcely be believed. Were it, indeed, true that such a deed is yet in being, its being published to the world would be, undoubtedly, unfavourable to the pretensions and interests of the church of *Rome*. It is at least certain, that in the recent dispute between

CENT.

VIII.

PART II.

Charlemagne's grant to the see of Rome.

IX. After the death of PEPIN, a new attack was made upon the patrimony of St. PETER, by DIDERIC king of the Lombards, who invaded the territories that had been granted by the French monarch to the see of Rome. In this extremity, ADRIAN I, who was pontif at that time, fled for succour to CHARLES, the son of PEPIN, who, on account of his heroic exploits, was afterwards distinguished by the name of CHARLEMAGNE. This prince, whose enterprising genius led him to seize with avidity every opportunity of extending his conquests, and whose veneration for the Roman see was carried very far, as much from the dictates of policy as superstition, adopted immediately the cause of the trembling pontif. He passed the Alps with a formidable army A.D. 774, overturned the empire of the Lombards in Italy, which had subsisted above two hundred years, sent their exiled monarch into France, and proclaimed himself king of the Lombards. These conquests offered to CHALEMAGNE an occasion of visiting Rome, where he not only confirmed the grants which had been made by his father to that see, but added to them new donations, and made to the Roman pontifs a cession of several cities and provinces in Italy, which had not been contained in PEPIN's grant. What those cities and provinces were, is a question difficult to be resolved at this period of time, as it is perplexed with much obscurity, from the want of authentic records, by which alone it can be decided with certainty [u].

X. By this act of liberality, which seems to carry in it the contradictory characters of policy and imprudence, emperor JOSEPH and the Roman pontif concerning the city of Commachio, the partisans of the latter, though frequently called upon by those of the emperor to produce this grant, refused constantly to comply with this demand. On the other hand it must be confessed, that BLANCHINUS, in his *Prolegom. ad Anastasium de vitis pontif. Rom.* p. 55. has given us, from a Farnesian manuscript, a specimen of this grant, which seems to carry the marks of remote antiquity. Be that as it may, a multitude of witnesses unite in assuring us, that the remorse of a wounded conscience was the source of PEPIN's liberality, and that his grant to the Roman pontif was the superstitious remedy by which he hoped to expiate his enormities, and particularly his horrid perfidy to his master CHILDERIC.

[u] See CAR. SIGONIUS, *De regno Italiae*, lib. iii. p. 223. tom. ii. opp. BUNAU, *Historia Imperii Germanici*, tom. ii. p. 368. PETR. de MARCA, *De concordia sacerdotii et imperii*, lib. i. cap. xii. p. 67. LUD. ANTON. MURATORI *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclesiastique*, cap ii. p. 147. CONRINGIUS, *De Imperio Roman. German.* cap. vi. The extent of CHARLEMAGNE's grant to the see

CHARLEMAGNE opened for himself a passage to the empire of the west, and to the supreme dominion over the city of *Rome* and its territory, upon which the western empire seemed then to depend [*w*]. He had, no doubt, been

of *Rome* is as much disputed as that of PEPIN's, between the partisans of the pope, and those of the emperors. They, who plead the cause of the Roman see, maintain, that *Corfica, Sardinia, Sicily*, the territory of *Sabino*, the dutchy of *Spoletto*, and several other places were solemnly granted, by CHARLEMAGNE, to St. PETER and his successors. They, on the other hand, who assert the rights of the emperor, diminish as far as they can, the munificence of CHARLES, and confine this new grant within narrow limits. The reader may consult upon this subject the authors of the present age, who have published their opinions concerning the pretensions of the emperors and the popes to the cities of *Commachio* and *Florence*, and the dutchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*; but above all, the learned BERRET's excellent treatise, intitled, *Dissertatio Chorographica de Italia medii ævi*, f. 33. The spirit of party seems, in this controversy, as in many others, to have blinded the disputants on both sides of the question; and this, together with the difficulty of avoiding mistakes upon a point involved in such deep obscurity, has in many cases, rendered the truth invisible to both the contending parties. With respect to the motives that induced CHARLEMAGNE to make this grant, they are much less doubtful than the extent of the grant itself. ADRIAN affirms, that the monarch's view was to atone for his sins by this act of liberality to the church, as we see in a letter from that pontif to CHARLEMAGNE, which is published in MURATORI's *Scriptores rerum Italicar.* tom. iii. part II. p. 265. and of which the following passage is remarkable: "Venientes ad nos de Capua, quam Beato Petro apostolorum principi PRO MERCEDE ANIMÆ VESTRÆ atque sempiterna memoria cum ceteris civitatibus obtulistis." It is not indeed unlikely, that CHARLEMAGNE, who affected that kind of piety which was the characteristic of this barbarous age, mentioned this superstitious motive in the act of cession by which he confirmed his donation to the church; but such as are acquainted with the character of this prince, and the history of this period, will be cautious in attributing his generosity to this religious principle alone. His grand motive was, undoubtedly, of an ambitious kind; he was obstinately bent upon adding the western empire to his dominions, and the success of this grand project depended much upon the consent and assistance of the Roman pontif, whose approbation, in those times, was sufficient to sanctify the most iniquitous projects; so that CHARLEMAGNE lavished gifts upon the bishops of *Rome*, that, by their assistance, he might assume, with a certain air of decency, the empire of the west and confirm his new dominion in *Italy*. This policy we have taken notice of already, and it must appear manifest to all who view things with the smallest degree of impartiality and attention.

[*w*] CHARLES, in reality, was already emperor of the west, that is, the most powerful of the European monarchs. He wanted, therefore, nothing more than the title of emperor, and the supreme dominion in *Rome* and its territory, both of which he obtained by the assistance of LEO III.

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

The motives
to which it
is to be at-
tributed.

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T I.

meditating for a considerable time this arduous project, which his father PEPIN had probably formed before him, but the circumstances of the times obliged him to wait for a favourable occasion of putting it in execution. This was offered him in the year 800, when the affairs of the Greeks were reduced to the utmost extremity after the death of LEO III, and the barbarous murder of his son CONSTANTINE, and while the impious IRENE held the reins of empire. This favourable opportunity was seized with avidity by CHARLES, who set out for *Rome*, where he was received with the utmost demonstrations of zeal by the sovereign pontif [x], who had entered into his views, and persuaded the people, elated at this time with high notions of their independency and elective power, to unite their suffrages in favour of this prince, and to proclaim him emperor of the west [y].

The nature
and form of
the Roman
pontif's ju-
risdiction.

XI. CHARLES, upon his elevation to the empire of the west and the government of *Rome*, seems to have reserved to himself only the supreme dominion, and the unalienable rights of majesty, and to have granted to the church of *Rome* a subordinate jurisdiction over that great city, and its annexed territory [z]. This grant was undoubtedly suggested to him by the ambitious pontif as a matter of sacred and indispensable obligation, and many fictitious

[x] LEO III.

[y] See the historians who have transmitted to us accounts of this century, and more especially BUNAU, *Historia Imperii Romano-German.* tom. ii. p. 537. The partisans of the Roman pontifs generally maintain, that LEO III, by a *divine* right, vested in him as bishop of *Rome*, transported the western empire from the Greeks to the Franks, and conferred it upon CHARLEMAGNE, the monarch of the latter. From hence they conclude, that the Roman pontif, as the vicar of CHRIST, is the supreme lord of the whole earth, and, in a particular manner, of the Roman empire. The temerity of these pretensions, and the absurdity of this reasoning, are exposed with much learning and judgment by the celebrated FRED. SPANHEIM, *De ficta translatione imperii in Carolum M. per Leonem III.* tom. ii. opp. p. 557.

[z] That CHARLEMAGNE, in effect, preserved entire his supreme authority over the city of *Rome* and its adjacent territory, gave law to the citizens by judges of his own appointment, punished malefactors, enjoyed the prerogatives and exercised all the functions of royalty, has been demonstrated by several of the learned in the most ample and satisfactory manner, and confirmed by the most unexceptionable and authentic testimonies. To be convinced of this, it will be sufficient to consult MURATORI's *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Eccle-*
deeds

deeds were probably produced to make out the pretensions, and justify the claims of the church to this high degree of temporal authority and civil jurisdiction. In order to reconcile the new emperor to this grant, it was, no doubt, alledged, that CONSTANTINE the GREAT, his renowned predecessor, when he removed the seat of the empire to *Constantinople*, delivered up *Rome*, the old metropolis, with its adjacent territories, commonly called the Roman dukedom, to be possessed and governed by the church, and that with no other restriction than that this should be no detriment to his supreme dominion; and it was insinuated to CHARLES, that he could not depart from the rule established by that pious emperor, without incurring the wrath of God, and the indignation of St. PETER [a].

C E N T.
V:II.
P A R T II.

clestique, cap. vi. p. 77. And, indeed, they must have a strange power of resisting the clearest evidence, who are absurd enough to assert, as does FONTANINI, in his treatise, intitled, *Dominio della S. Sede sopra Comachio*, Diff. i. c. 95, 96. that CHARLES sustained at *Rome* the character of the *advocate* of the Roman church, and not that of its sovereign or its lord, the dominion of the pontifs being unlimited and universal. On the other hand, we must acknowledge ingenuously that the power of the pontif, both in the city of *Rome* and its annexed territory, was very great, and that, in several cases, he seemed to act with a princely authority. But the extent, and the foundations of that authority, are matters hid in the deepest obscurity, and have thereby given occasion to endless disputes. MURATORI maintains, in his work above cited, p. 102. that the bishop of *Rome* discharged the function of *exarch*, or *vicar*, to the emperor, an opinion which CLEMENT XI rejected as injurious to the papal dignity, and which, indeed, does not appear to have any solid foundation. After a careful examination of all the circumstances that can contribute towards the solution of this perplexed question, the most probable account of the matter seems to be this: That the Roman pontif possessed the city of *Rome* and its territory by the same right that he held the exarchate of *Ravenna* and the other lands of which he received the grant from CHARLEMAGNE; that is to say, that he possessed *Rome* as a feudal tenure, though charged with less marks of dependance than other fiefs generally are, on account of the lustre and dignity of a city which had been so long the capital of the empire. This opinion derives much strength from what we shall have occasion to observe in the following note, and it has the peculiar advantage of reconciling the jarring testimonies of ancient writers, and the various records of antiquity relating to this point.

[a] Most writers are of opinion, that CONSTANTINE's pretended grant was posterior to this period, and was forged in the tenth century. It appears to me, on the contrary, that this fictitious grant was in being in the eighth century, and it is extremely proba-

CENT.

VIII
PART II.

The Grecian emperors check the ambition of the Roman pontiffs, and diminish their revenues.

XII. While the power and opulence of the Roman pontiffs were rising to the greatest highest by the events which we have now been relating, they received a mortifying check in consequence of a quarrel which broke

ble that both ADRIAN and his successor LEO III made use of it to persuade CHARLEMAGNE to that donation. In favour of this opinion, we have the unexceptionable testimony of ADRIAN himself in his letter to CHARLEMAGNE, which is published in MURATORI'S *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, tom. iii. part II. p. 194. and which is extremely worthy of an attentive perusal. In this letter, ADRIAN exhorts CHARLES, before his elevation to the empire, to order the restitution of all the grants and donations that had formerly been made to St. PETER, and to the church of Rome. In this demand also he distinguishes, in the plainest manner, the donation of CONSTANTINE from those of the other princes and emperors, and, what is particularly remarkable, from the *exarchate* which was the gift of PEPIN, and even from the additions that CHARLES had already made to his father's grant; from whence we may justly conclude, that by the *donation of CONSTANTINE*, ADRIAN meant the city of Rome and its annexed territory. He speaks first of this grant in the following terms: "Deprecamur vestram Excellentiam . . . pro Dei amore et ipsius clavigeri regni cœlorum . . . ut secundum promissionem quam polliciti estis eidem Dei apostolo PRO ANIMÆ VESTRÆ MERCEDE et stabilitate regni vestri, omnia nostris temporibus adimplere jubeatis . . . et sicut temporibus beati SILVESTRI Romani pontificis, a sanctæ recordationis piissimo CONSTANTINO M. Imperatore, PER EJUS LARGITATEM (here CONSTANTINE'S donation is evidently mentioned) sancta Dei catholica et apostolica Romana ecclesia elevata atque exaltata est, et POTESTATEM in his Hesperiae partibus LARGIRI dignatus est: ita et in his vestris felicissimis temporibus atque nostris sancta Dei ecclesia germinet . . . et amplius atque amplius exaltata permaneat . . . quia ecce novus Christianissimus Dei gratiâ Constantinus imperator (here we see CHARLES, who at that time was only a king, styled emperor by the pontif, and compared with CONSTANTINE) his temporibus surrexit, per quem omnia Deus sanctæ suæ ecclesiæ . . . largiri dignatus est." So much for that part of the letter that relates to CONSTANTINE'S grant: as to the other donations which the pontif evidently distinguishes from it, observe what follows:

"SEDET CUNCTA ALIA quæ per diversos Imperatores, Patricios, etiam et alios Deum timentes, PRO EORUM ANIMÆ MERCEDE ET VENIA DELICTORUM, in partibus Tusciæ, Spoletio, seu Benevento, atque Corsica, simul et Pavinensi patrimonio, beato Petro apostolo concessa sunt, et per nefandam gentem Longobardorum per annorum spatia abstracta et ablata sunt vestris temporibus, restituantur." (The pontif intimates further, that all these grants were carefully preserved in the office of the Lateran, and that he sends them to CHARLES by his legates.) "Unde et plures donationes in sacro nostro scrinio Lateranensi reconditas habemus, tamen et pro satisfactione Christianissimi regni vestri, per jam fatos viros, ad demonstrandum eas vobis, direximus, et pro hoc petimus eximiam præcellentiam vestram, ut in integro ipsa patrimonia Beato PETRO etno-

out between these haughty pontifs and the Grecian emperors. LEO the Isaurian, and his son CONSTANTINE COPRONYMUS, incensed at the zeal which GREGORY II and III discovered for the worship of images, not only confiscated the treasures and lands which the church of *Rome* possessed in *Sicily*, *Calabria*, and *Apulia*, but moreover withdrew the bishops of these countries, and also the various provinces and churches of *Illyricum*, from the jurisdiction of the Roman see, and subjected them to the spiritual dominion of the bishop of *Constantinople*. And so inflexibly were the Grecian emperors bent upon humbling the arrogance of the Roman pontifs, that no intreaties, supplications, nor threats could engage them to abandon their purpose, or to restore this rich and signal portion of St. PETER's patrimony to his greedy successors [b]. It is here that we must look for the original source, and the principal cause of that vehement contest between the Roman pontif and the bishop of *Constantinople*, which, in the following century, divided the Greek and Latin churches, and was so pernicious to the interests and advancement of true Christianity. These lamentable divisions, which wanted no new incident to foment them, were, nevertheless, augmented by a controversy which arose, in this century, concerning the *derivation of the Holy Spirit*, which we shall have occasion to mention more largely in its proper place. But it is more than probable, that this controversy would have been terminated with the utmost facility, had not the spirits of the contending parties been previously exasperated by disputes founded upon avarice and ambition, and carried on, without either moderation or decency, by the *holy* patriarchs of *Rome* and *Constantinople*, in defence of their respective pretensions.

XIII. The monastic discipline was extremely relaxed at this time both in the eastern and western provinces, and, as appears by the concurring testimonies of the writers of this century, was fallen into a total decay. The only monks

The monastic discipline fallen into decay.

"bis restituere jubeatis." By this it appears that CONSTANTINE's grant was now in being among the archives of the Lateran, and was sent to CHARLEMAGNE with the other donations of kings and princes, whose examples were made use of to excite his liberality to the church.

[b], See MICH. LEQUIEN's *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 96. Among the Greek writers also THEOPHANES and others acknowledge the fact; but they are not entirely agreed about the reasons to which it is to be attributed,

who

CENT.
VIII.
PART II.

who escaped this general corruption, were they who passed their days in the deserts of *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Mesopotamia*, amidst the austerities of a wretched life, and remote from all the comforts of human society: yet the merit of having preserved their discipline was sadly counterbalanced by the gross ignorance, the fanatical madness, and the sordid superstition that reigned among these miserable hermits. Those of the monastic orders who lived nearer cities and populous towns, troubled frequently the public tranquillity by the tumults and seditions they fomented among the multitude, so that it became necessary to check their rebellious ambition by the severe laws that were enacted against them by CONSTANTINE COPRonymus, and other emperors. The greatest part of the western monks followed, at this time, the rule of St. BENEDICT; though there were every where convents which adopted the discipline of other orders [c]. But as they increased in opulence they lost sight of all rules, and submitted, at length, to no other discipline than that of intemperance, voluptuousness, and sloth [d]. CHARLEMAGNE attempted, by various edicts, to put a stop to this growing evil; but his efforts were attended with little success [e].

The origin
of the order
of canons.

XIV. This universal depravity and corruption of the monks gave rise to a new order of priests in the west, which was a sort of a middle order between the *monks* or *regulars*, and the *secular clergy*. This new species of ecclesiastics adopted the monastic discipline and manner of life, so far as to have their dwelling and their table in common, and to assemble themselves at certain hours for divine service; but they entered not into the vows which were peculiar to the monks, and they were also appointed to discharge the ministerial functions in certain churches which were committed to their pastoral direction. These ecclesiastics were at first called *fratres dominici*, but soon after received

[c] See MABILLON *Præf. ad acta SS. Ord. Benedicti*, Sæc. i. p. 24. and Sæc. iv. part I. p. 26.

[d] The author mentioned in the preceding note discourses with a noble frankness and courage concerning the corruption of the monks and its various causes, in the same work, *Præf. ad Sæc. iv. part I. p. 64.*

[e] See the *Capitularia Caroli*, published by BALUZIUS, tom. i. p. 148. 157. 237. 355. 366. 375. 503. Laws, so severe, and so often repeated, shew evidently that the corruption of the monks must have been truly enormous.

the name of *canons* [f]. The common opinion attributes the institution of this order to CHRODEGANGUS, bishop of Metz: nor is this opinion destitute of truth [g]. For though before this time there were in *Italy, Africa,* and other provinces, convents of ecclesiastics, who lived after the manner of the *canons* [h]; yet CHRODEGANGUS, who, towards the middle of this century, subjected to this rule the clergy of Metz, not only added to their religious ceremonies the custom of singing hymns and anthems to God, at certain hours, and probably a variety of rites, but also, by his example, excited the Franks, the Italians, and the Germans to distinguish themselves by their zeal in favour of the *canons*, to erect monasteries for them, and to introduce their rule into their respective countries.

XV. The supreme dominion over the church and its possessions was vested in the emperors and kings, both in the eastern and the western world. The sovereignty of the Grecian emperors, in this respect, has never been contested; and though the partisans of the Roman pontiffs endeavour to render dubious the supremacy of the Latin monarchs over the church, yet this supremacy is too manifest to be disputed by such as have considered the matter

The authority of the Roman pontiffs limited by, and subordinate to, that of the emperors.

[f] See LE BEUF *Memoirs sur l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. i. p. 174. the Paris edition, published in 1743, in 4to.

[g] See, for an account of CHRODEGANGUS, the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 128. CALMET, *Histoire de Lorraine*, tom. i. p. 513. *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. i. Martii, p. 452. The rule which he prescribed to his *canons*, may be seen in LE COINTE'S *Annales Francorum Ecclesiarum*, tom. v. ad A. 757. § 35; as also in the *Concilia Labbei*, tom. vii. 1444. He is not, however, the author of the rule which is published in his name, in the *Spicilegium Veter. Scriptorum*, tom. i. p. 565. LONGUEVAL, in his *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. iv. p. 435. has given a neat and elegant abridgement of the rule of CHRODEGANGUS.

[h] See LUD. ANT. MURATOR. *Antiq. Italicar. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 185; as also LUD. THOMASSIN. *Disciplina Ecclesiæ Vet. et Nov.* part i. lib. iii. The design of this Institution was truly excellent. The authors of it justly shocked at the vicious manners of a licentious clergy, hoped that this new institution would have a tendency to prevent the irregularities of that order, by delivering them from the cares, anxieties, and occupations of this present life. But the event has shewn how much these pious hopes have been disappointed.

atten-

CENT.
VIII.
PART II.

attentively [*i*], and it is acknowledged by the wisest and most candid writers even of the Romish communion. ADRIAN I, in a council of bishops assembled at Rome, conferred upon CHARLEMAGNE, and his successors, the right of election to the see of Rome, [*k*]; and though neither CHARLEMAGNE, nor his son LEWIS, were willing to exercise this power in all its extent, by naming and creating the pontif upon every vacancy, yet they reserved the right of approving and confirming the person that was elected to that high dignity by the priests and people: nor was the consecration of the elected pontif of the least validity, unless performed in presence of the emperor's ambassadors [*l*]. The Roman pontifs obeyed the laws of the emperors, received their judicial decisions, as of indispensable obligation, and executed them with the utmost punctuality and submission [*m*]. The kings of the Franks appointed extraordinary judges, whom they called *envoys*, to inspect into the lives and manners of the clergy superior and inferior, to take cognizance of their contests, to terminate their disputes, to enact laws concerning the public worship, and to punish the crimes of the sacred order, as well as those of the other citizens [*n*]. All churches also, and monasteries, were obliged to pay to the public treasury a tribute proportioned to their respective lands and possessions, except such as, by the pure favour of the supreme powers, were graciously exempted from this general tax [*o*].

[*i*] For an accurate account of the rights of the Grecian emperors in religious matters, we refer the reader to LEQUIEN's *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 136.

[*k*] This *Act* is mentioned by ANASTASIUS: it has been preserved by YVO and GRATIAN, and has been the subject of a multitude of treatises.

[*l*] See MABILLON, *Comm. in Ordinem Romanum, Musei Italici*, tom. ii. p. 113. MURATORI *Droits de l' Empire sur l' Etat Ecclesiastique*, p. 87.

[*m*] This has been amply demonstrated by BALUZIUS, in his *Pref. ad Capitularia Regum Francorum*, § 21.

[*n*] See MURATORI *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. i. Diff. ix. p. 470. FRANC. de ROYE *De Missis Dominicis*, cap. x. p. 44. cap. viii. p. 118. 134. 168. 195.

[*o*] See MURATORI *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. i. Diff. xvii. p. 926. See also the collection of the various pieces that were published on occasion of the dispute between LEWIS XV and his clergy, relating to the immunities of that Order in France. These pieces

XVI. It is true, indeed, that the Latin emperors did not assume to themselves the administration of the church, or the cognizance and decision of controversies that were purely of a religious nature. They acknowledged, on the contrary, that these matters belonged to the tribunal of the Roman pontif and of the ecclesiastical councils [p]. But this jurisdiction of the pontif was confined within narrow limits; he could decide nothing by his sole authority, but was obliged to convene a council when any religious differences were to be terminated by an authoritative judgment. Nor did the provinces, when any controversy arose, wait for the decision of the bishop of *Rome*; but assembled, by their own authority, their particular councils, in which the bishops gave their thoughts, with the utmost freedom, upon the points in debate, and voted often in direct opposition to what was known to be the opinion of the Roman pontif: all which is evident from what passed in the councils assembled by the Franks and Germans, in order to determine the celebrated controversy concerning the use and worship of images. It is further to be observed, that the power of convening councils, and the right of presiding in them, were the prerogatives of the emperors and sovereign princes, in whose dominions these assemblies were held; and that no decrees of any council obtained the force of laws, until they were approved and confirmed by the supreme magistrate [q]. Thus was the spiritual authority of *Rome* wisely bounded by the civil power; but its ambitious pontiffs fretted under the imperial curb, and eager to break loose their bonds, left no means unemployed for that purpose. Nay, they formed projects which seemed less the effects of ambition than of frenzy; for they claimed a supreme dominion, not only over the church, but also over kings themselves, and pretended to reduce the whole universe under their ghostly

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

Confined
within nar-
row limits.

were printed at the *Hague* in the year 1751, in seven volumes, 8vo, under the following title: *Ecrits pour et contre les immunités prétendues par le Clergé de France*.

[p] See the Dissertation of CHARLEMAGNE, *De imaginibus*, lib. i. cap. iv. p. 48. edit. Heumann.

[q] All this is fully and admirably demonstrated by BALUZIUS, in his Preface to the *Capitularia*, or laws of the kings of the Franks, and is also amply illustrated in that work. See also J. BASNAGE, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 270.

juris-

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

Grecian and
eastern writers.

jurisdiction. However extravagant these pretensions were, they were followed by the most vigorous efforts, and the wars and tumults that arose in the following century, contributed much to render these efforts successful.

XVII. If we turn our eyes towards the writers of this century, we shall find very few that stand distinguished in the lists of fame, either on account of erudition or genius. Among the Greeks, the following only seem worthy of mention.

GERMANUS, bishop of *Constantinople*, the greatest part of whose high renown was due to his violent zeal for image-worship [r].

COSMAS, bishop of *Jerusalem*, who acquired some reputation by his Lyric vein, consecrated to the service of religion, and employed in composing hymns for public and private devotion.

GEORGE SYNCELLUS and THEOPHANES, who are not the least considerable among the writers of the Byzantine history, though they be in all respects infinitely below the ancient Greek and Latin historians.

But the writer, who surpassed all his contemporaries among the Greeks and Orientals, was JOHN DAMASCENUS, a man of genius and eloquence, who, in a variety of productions full of erudition, explained the Peripatetic philosophy, and illustrated the main and capital points of the Christian doctrine. It must, however, be acknowledged, that the eminent talents of this great man were tainted with that sordid superstition, and that excessive veneration for the ancient fathers, that were the reigning defects of the age he lived in, not to mention his wretched method of explaining the doctrines of the gospel according to the principles of the Aristotelian philosophy [s].

Western and
Latin writers.

XVIII. The first place among the Latin writers is due to CHARLEMAGNE, whose love of letters was one of the bright ornaments of his imperial dignity. The laws which are known by the title of *Capitularia*, with several *Epistles*, and a *Book concerning images*, are attributed to this prince; though it seems highly probable, that the

[r] See RICH. SIMON, *Critique de la Bibliotheque Ecclesiastique de M. DU PIN*, tom. i. p. 270.

[s] BAYLE *Diction.* tom. ii. p. 950; as also the account of the writings of JOHN DAMASCENUS, which is published in LE QUIEN'S edition of his works, and was composed by LEO ALLATIUS.

most

most of these compositions were drawn up by other pens [t].

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

After this learned prince, we may justly place venerable BEDE, so called from his illustrious virtues [u]; ALCUIN [w], the preceptor of CHARLEMAGNE; PAULINUS of *Aquileia* [x], who were all distinguished by their laborious application, and their zeal for the advancement of learning and science, and who treated the various branches of literature, that were known in this century, in such a manner as to convince us, that it was the infelicity of the times, rather than the want of genius, that hindered them from arising to higher degrees of perfection than what they attained to. Add to these BERNIFACE, of whom we have already spoken; EGINARD, the celebrated author of the *Life of Charlemagne*, and other productions; PAUL, the deacon, who acquired a considerable and lasting reputation by his *History of the Lombards*, his *Book of Homilies*, and his miscellaneous labours; AMBROSE AUTHPERT, who wrote a commentary on the *Revelations*; and THEODULPHUS bishop of *Orleans*; and thus we shall have a compleat list of all the writers who acquired any degree of esteem in this century, by their literary productions, either sacred or profane.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the doctrine of the Christian church in this century.

I. THE fundamental doctrines of christianity were, as yet, respected and preserved in the theological writings both of the Greeks and Latins, as seems evident

The Christian doctrine sadly corrupted.

[t] See JO. A. FABRICII *Bibliotheca medii ævi* Lat. tom. i. p. 936. *Histoire Littéraire de France*, tom. iv. p. 378.

[u] See the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. April. p. 866. *Gen. Dictionary*, at the article of BEDE. A list of the writings of this venerable Briton, composed by himself, is published by MURATORI, in his *Antiq. Italic. medii ævi*, tom. iii. p. 825.

[w] *Hist. Litter. de la France*, tom. iv. p. 295. *Gen. Dictionary*, at the article ALCUIN. CATELINOT, who has discovered the treatise of ALCUIN, *De Processione Spiritus S.* which has never been published, is preparing an edition of all the works of that learned writer. See the *Hist. Littéraire de la France*, tom. viii. *Præf.* p. 10.

[x] See *Hist. Littéraire*, &c. tom. iv. p. 286. *Acta Sanct.* tom. i. *Januar.* p. 713.

from

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

from the discourse of JOHN DAMASCENUS, *concerning the orthodox faith*, and the confession of faith which was drawn up by CHARLEMAGNE [y]. The pure seed of celestial truth was, however, choked by a monstrous and incredible quantity of noxious weeds. The rational simplicity of the Christian worship was corrupted by an idolatrous veneration for images, and other superstitious inventions, and the sacred flame of divine charity was extinguished by the violent contentions and animosities, which the progress of these superstitions occasioned in the church. All acknowledged the efficacy of our Saviour's merits: and yet all, one way or another, laboured, in effect, to diminish the persuasion of this efficacy in the minds of men, by teaching that Christians might appease an offended deity by voluntary acts of mortification, or by gifts and oblations lavished upon the church, and by exhorting such as were desirous of salvation to place their confidence in the works and merits of the saints. Were we to enlarge upon all the absurdities and superstitions which were invented to flatter the passions of the misguided multitude, and to increase, at the expence of reason and Christianity, the opulence and authority of a licentious clergy; such an immense quantity of odious materials would swell this work to an enormous size.

The piety
and morals
of this age.

II. The piety in vogue during this and some succeeding ages consisted in building, and embellishing churches and chapels, in endowing monasteries, erecting basilics, hunting after the relicks of saints and martyrs, and treating them with an excessive and absurd veneration; in procuring the intercession of the saints by rich oblations or superstitious rites, in worshipping images, in pilgrimages to those places which were esteemed holy, and chiefly to *Palestine*, and such like absurd and extravagant practices and institutions. The pious Christian, and the profligate transgressor, shewed equal zeal in the performance of these superstitious

[y] See the treatise of this prince, *Concerning images*, book III. p. 259. ed. *Heumanni*. Of the Greek writers, the reader may consult MICH. SYNCHELLUS's *Confession of faith*, published by MONTFAUCON, in his *Bibliotheca Coisliniana*, p. 90; and among the Latins, *An exposition of the principal doctrine of the Christian religion*, composed by BENEDICT, abbot of *Aniane*, and published by BALUZIUS, in his *Miscellanea*, tom. v. p. 56; as also the *Creed* of LEO III, published in the same work, tom. vii. p. 18.

services,

services, which were looked upon as of the highest efficacy in order to the attainment of eternal salvation; they were performed by the latter as an expiation for their crimes, and a mean of appeasing an offended deity; and by the former with a view to obtain, from above, the good things of this life, and an easy and commodious passage to life eternal. The true genuine religion of JESUS, if we except a few of its doctrines contained in the *Creed*, was utterly unknown in this century, not only to the multitude in general, but also to the doctors of the first rank and eminence in the church, and the consequences of this corrupt ignorance were fatal to the interests of virtue. All orders of men, regardless of the obligations of morality, of the duties of the gospel, and of the culture and improvement of their minds, rushed headlong with a perfect security into all sorts of wickedness, from the delusive hopes, that by the intercession and prayers of the saints, and the credit of the priests at the throne of God, they would easily obtain the remission of their enormities, and render the deity propitious. This dismal account of the religion and morals of the eighth century is confirmed by the unanimous testimony of all the historians who have written concerning that period.

III. The Greeks were of opinion, that the holy scriptures had been successfully interpreted and explained by the ancient commentators, and therefore imagined, that they rendered a most important service to the students in divinity, when, without either judgment or choice, they extracted and compiled from the works of these admired sages their explanatory observations on the sacred writings. The commentary of JOHN DAMASCENUS, upon the epistles of St. PAUL, which was taken from the writings of CHRYSOSTOM, is alone sufficient to serve as a proof of the little discernment with which these compilations were generally made.

The Latin expositors may be divided into two classes, according to the different nature of their productions. In the first, we place those writers who, after the example of the Greeks, employed their labour in collecting into one body the interpretations and commentaries of the ancients. BEDE distinguished himself among the expositors of this class by his explication of the epistles of St. PAUL, drawn from the writings of AUGUSTIN and

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

Exegetical
or explanatory theo-
logy.

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

others [z]. Still more estimable are the writers of the second class, who made use of their own penetration and sagacity in investigating the sense of the holy scriptures, such as ALCUIN, AMBROSE AUTHPERT, the expositors of the *Revelations*, nay and BEDE also, who belongs, in reality, to both classes. It must, however, be acknowledged, that all these commentators were destitute of the qualities that are essential to the sacred critic; for we find them in their explications neglecting entirely the natural sense of the words of scripture, and running blind-fold after a certain hidden and mystical meaning, which, to use their jargon, they usually divided into *allegorical*, *anagogical*, and *tropological* [a]; and thus they delivered their own rash fictions and crude fancies, as the true and genuine sentiments of the sacred writers. Of this we are furnished with many examples in ALCUIN's *commentary on St. John*; BEDE's *allegorical illustrations of the books of Samuel*; and CHARLEMAGNE's *book concerning images*, in which various passages of the holy scriptures are occasionally explained according to the taste of the times [b].

Charle-
magne's
zeal for the
study of the
scriptures.

IV. The veneration of CHARLEMAGNE for the sacred writings was carried to such an excessive length [c], as to persuade that monarch, that they contained the latent seeds and principles of all arts and sciences; an opinion, no doubt, which he early imbibed from the lessons of his preceptor ALCUIN, and the other divines who frequented his court [d]. Hence the zeal with which that prince excited and encouraged the more learned among the clergy to direct their pious labours towards the illustration of the holy scriptures. Several laws which he published to encourage this species of learning are yet extant, as also various monuments of his deep solicitude about the advancement and propagation of Christian

[z] See, for an account of the commentaries of BEDE, RICH. SIMON, *Critique de la Biblioth. Ecclesiast. de M. DU PIN*, tom. i. p. 280. See also BEDÆ *Explicatio Geneseos ex patribus in MARTENE'S Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 111. 116. 140. and his interpretation of *Habakkuk*, *ibid.* p. 295.

[a] See CAROLUS Magnus *de Imaginibus*, lib. i. p. 138.

[b] See the same imperial author, book I. p. 84. 91. 123. 127. 131. 133. 136. 138. 145. 160. 164. 165, &c.

[c] Id. *De Imaginibus*, lib. i. p. 231. 236.

[d] JO. FRICKIUS *De Canone Scriptura Sacra*, p. 184.

know-

knowledge [e]. And least the faults that were to be found in several places of the Latin translation of the scriptures should prove an obstacle to the execution and accomplishment of his pious views, he employed ALCUIN in correcting these errors, and is said, in the last years of his life, to have spent a considerable part of his time in the same learned and pious work [f]. It is also to his encouragement and direction, that some writers attribute the first German translation of the sacred writings, though others contend, that this honour is due to his son and successor LEWIS, surnamed the MEEK.

V. This zeal and industry of the emperor contributed, no doubt, to rouse from their sloth a lazy and ignorant clergy, and to raise up a spirit of application to literary pursuits. We cannot, however, help observing, that this laborious prince imprudently established certain customs, and confirmed others, which had a manifest tendency to defeat, in a great measure, his laudable designs of promoting Christian knowledge. He confirmed the practice already in use, of reading and explaining to the people, in the public assemblies, certain portions only of the scriptures; and reduced the different methods of worship followed in different churches into one fixed rule, which was to be observed with the most perfect uniformity in all [g]. Persuaded also that few of the clergy were

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

Misses its
aim, by
some impru-
dent ap-
pointments
of that em-
peror.

[e] BARONIUS *Annal. ad. A. DCCLXXVIII. n. XXVII.* JO. A. FABRICUS, *Biblioth. Lat. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 950. JAC. USSE-
RIUS, *De sacris et scripturis vernacul.* p. 110.

[f] J. A. FABRICII *Bibl. Lat. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 950. US-
SERIUS, *De sacris et scripturis vernacul.* p. 110.

[g] They who imagine that the portions of scripture which are still explained, every year, to Christians in their religious assemblies, were selected for that purpose by the order of CHARLEMAGNE, are undoubtedly mistaken; since it is manifest, that in the preceding ages there were certain portions of scripture set apart for each day of worship in the greatest part of the Latin churches. See JO. HENRI. THAMERI *Schediasma de origine et dignitate pericoparum quæ Evangelia et Epistolæ vulgo vocantur.* See also J. FRANC. BUDDEI *Isagoge ad Theologiam*, tom. ii. p. 1640. It must, however, be confessed, that CHARLEMAGNE introduced some new regulations into this part of divine service; for whereas, before his time, the Latin churches differed from each other in several circumstances of the public worship, and particularly in this, that the same portions of scripture were not read and explained in them all, he published a solemn edict, commanding all the religious assemblies within his territories to conform themselves to the rule of worship and divine service established

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

capable of explaining with perspicuity and judgment the portions of scripture, which are distinguished in the ritual by the name of epistle and gospel, he ordered PAUL DEACON, and ALCUIN to compile, from the ancient doctors of the church, *homilies*, or discourses upon the epistles and gospels, which a stupid and ignorant set of priests were to commit to memory, and recite to the people. This gave rise to that famous collection, which went by the title of the *homiliarium of Charlemagne* [b], and which being followed as a model by many productions of the same kind composed by private persons from a principle of pious zeal, contributed much to nourish the indolence, and to perpetuate the ignorance of a worthless clergy [i]. The zeal and activity of this great prince

in the church of Rome. With respect to the portions of scripture, which we call the *epistles* and *gospels*, and which, from the time of CHARLEMAGNE down to us, continue to be used in divine worship, it is certain that they were read in the church of Rome so early as the sixth century. It is also certain, that this prince was extremely careful in reforming the service of the Latin churches, and appointed the form of worship used at Rome to be observed in them all. Hence the churches, which did not adopt the Roman ritual, have different *epistles* and *gospels* from those which are used by us and the other western churches, who were commanded by CHARLEMAGNE to imitate the Roman service. The church of Corbetta is an example of this, as may be seen in MURATORI'S *Antiq. Ital.* tom. iv. p. 836; and also the church of Milan, which follows the rite of St. AMBROSE. If any are desirous to know what *epistles* and *gospels* were used by the Franks and other western churches before the time of CHARLEMAGNE, they have only to consult the *Calendars* published by MARTENE, in his *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 66. the *Discourses* of BEDE, published in the same work, tom. v. p. 339. and MABILLON, *De Antiqua Liturgia Gallicana*; to all which may be added PEYRAT, *Antiquités de la Chapelle du Roi de France*, p. 366.

[b] See, for an account of this book of *Homilies*, the learned SEELEN'S *Selecta Litteraria*, p. 252.

[i] ALAN, abbot of Farfa in Italy, wrote in this century an enormous *Book of Homilies*, the Preface to which is published by BERNARD PEZIUS, in the *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. vi. part I. p. 83. In the following age several works under the same title were composed by learned men; one by HAGMO, of Halberstadt, which is still extant; another by RABANUS MAURUS, at the request of the emperor LOTHAIRE; and a third by HERICUS, mentioned by PEZIUS in the work above quoted, p. 93. All these were written in Latin. The famous OTTFRID, of Weissenbourg, was the first who composed a *Book of Homilies* in the Teutonic language; for an account of this work, which was written in the ninth century, see LAMBECIUS, *De Bibliotheca Vindobon. Augusta*, tom. ii. cap. v. p. 419.

did not stop here ; for he ordered the lives of the principal saints, to be written in a moderate volume, of which copies were dispersed throughout his dominions, that the people might have in the dead, examples of piety and virtue, which were no where to be found among the living. All these projects and designs were certainly formed and executed with upright and pious intentions, and, considering the state of things in this century, were, in several respects, both useful and necessary ; they, however, contrary to the emperor's intention, contributed, undoubtedly, to encourage the priests in their criminal sloth, and their shameful neglect of the study of the scriptures. For the greatest part of them employed their time and labour only upon those parts of the sacred writings, which the emperor had appointed to be read in the churches and explained to the people ; and never attempted to exercise their capacities upon the rest of the divine word. The greatest part of the clergy also, instead of composing themselves the discourses they recited in public, confined themselves to their book of homilies, that was published by the authority of their sovereign, and thus let their talents lie uncultivated and unemployed.

VI. None of the Latins carried their theological enterprizes so far as to give a complete, connected, and accurate system of the various doctrines of Christianity. It would be absurd to comprehend under this title the various discourses concerning the person and nature of CHRIST, which were designed to refute the errors of FELIX [k] and ELIPAND, or to combat the opinions, which were now spread abroad concerning the origin of the Holy Ghost [l], and several other points ; since these discourses afford no proofs either of precision or diligence in their authors. The labours and industry of the divines of this age were totally employed in collecting the opinions and authorities

The state of
didactic
theology.

§ (k) The doctrine taught by FELIX, bishop of Urgella, and his disciple ELIPAND, archbishop of Toledo, was, that JESUS CHRIST was the son of God not by *nature*, but by *adoption*. This doctrine was also intimately connected with the Nestorian hypothesis, and was condemned, in this century, by the synod of Ratisbon, and the councils of *Frankfort* and *Frioul*.

§ (l) The error now published relating to the *Holy Ghost* was, that *It* proceeded from the father *only*, and not from the father and the son.

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

of the *fathers*, by whom are meant the theological writers of the first six centuries; and so blind and servile was their veneration for these doctors, that they regarded their dictates as infallible, and their writings as the boundaries of truth, beyond which reason was not permitted to push its researches. The Irish or Hibernians, who in this century were known by the name of *Scots*, were the only divines who refused to dishonour their reason by submitting it implicitly to the dictates of authority. Naturally subtle and sagacious, they applied their philosophy, such as it was, to the illustration of the truths and doctrines of religion; a method which was almost generally abhorred and exploded in all other nations [*m*].

[*m*] That the Hibernians, who were called *Scots* in this century, were lovers of learning, and distinguished themselves, in these times of ignorance, by the culture of the sciences beyond all the other European nations, travelling through the most distant lands both with a view to improve and to communicate their knowledge, is a fact with which I have long been acquainted, as we see them, in the most authentic records of antiquity, discharging, with the highest reputation and applause, the function of doctors in *France, Germany, and Italy*, both during this and the following century. But that these Hibernians were the first teachers of the *scholastic theology* in *Europe*, and so early as the eighth century illustrated the doctrines of religion by the principles of philosophy, I learned but lately from the testimony of BENEDICT, abbot of *Aniane*, in the province of *Languedoc*, who lived in this period, and some of whose productions are published by BALUZIUS, in the fifth volume of his *Miscellanea*. This learned abbot, in his *Letter to Guarnanius*, p. 54. expresses himself thus: "Apud modernos scholasticos (*i. e.* public teachers, or school-masters) maxime apud SCOTOS est syllogismus delusionis, ut dicant, Trinitatem, sicut personarum, ita esse substantiarum;" (by this it appears, that the Irish divines made use of a certain syllogism, which BENEDICT calls *delusive*, *i. e.* fallacious and sophistical, to demonstrate that the *persons* in the God-head were *substances*: a captious syllogism this, as we may see from what follows, and also every way proper to throw the ignorant into the greatest perplexity) "quatenus si adfenserit illectus auditor, Trinitatem esse trium substantiarum Deum, trium derogetur cultor Deorum: si autem abnuerit, personarum denegator culpetur." It was with this miserable piece of sophistry, that these subtle divines puzzled and tormented their disciples and hearers, accusing those of *Tritheism*, who admitted their argument, and casting the reproach of *Sabellianism* upon those who rejected it. For thus they reasoned, or rather quibbled; "You must either affirm or deny that the Three Persons in the Deity are Three Substances. If you affirm it, you are undoubtedly a *Tritheist*, and worship Three Gods: if you deny it; this denial implies that they are not three distinct persons, and thus you fall into *Sabellianism*." BENEDICT condemns this Hi-

The Greeks were not so destitute of systematical divines as the Latins. JOHN DAMASCENUS composed a complete body of the Christian doctrine in a scientific method, under the title of *Four Books concerning the Orthodox Faith*. The two kinds of *Theology*, which the Latins termed *scholastic* and *didactic*, were united in this laborious performance, in which the author not only explains the doctrines he delivers by subtle and profound reasoning, but also confirms his explications by the authority of the ancient doctors. This book was received among the Greeks with the highest applause, and was so excessively admired, that at length it came to be acknowledged among that people as the only rule of divine truth. Many, however, complain of this applauded writer, as having consulted more, in his theological system, the conjectures of human reason, and the opinions of the ancients, than the genuine dictates of the sacred oracles, and of having, in consequence of this method, deviated from the true source and the essential principles of theology [n]. To the work of DAMASCENUS now mentioned we may add his *Sacred Parallels*, in which he has collected, with uncommon care and industry, the opinions of the ancient doctors concerning the various points of the Christian religion. We may, therefore, look upon this writer as the THOMAS and LOMBARD of the Greeks.

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

VII. None of the moral writers of this century attempted forming a complete system of the duties and virtues of the Christian life. JOHN, surnamed CARPATHIUS, a Greek writer, composed some *exhortatory discourses*, in which there are scarcely any marks of judgment or genius. Among the monastic orders nothing was relished, but the

Moral writers.

bernian subtilty, and severely animadverts upon the introduction of it into theology; he also recommends in its place that amiable simplicity that is so conformable to the nature and genius of the gospel: "Sed hæc de fide (says he) et omnis calliditatis versutia simplicitate fidei catholicæ est puritate vitanda, non captiosa interjectione linguarum, scæva impactione interpolanda." From hence it appears, that the philosophical or scholastic theology among the Latins is of more ancient date than is commonly imagined.

[n] JO. HENR. HOTTINGER. *Bibliothecar. Quadripart.* lib. iii. cap. ii. § 3. p. 372. MART. CHEMNITIUS, *De usu et utilitate Locor. Commun.* p. 26.

CEN T.
VIII.
PART II.

enthusiastic strains of the Mystics, and the doctrines of DIONYSIUS the Areopagite, their pretended chief, whose supposititious writings were interpreted and explained by JOHANNES DARENSIS out of complaisance to the monks [o]. The Latin writers confined their labours in morality to some general precepts concerning virtue and vice, that seemed rather destined to regulate the external actions of Christians, than to purify their inward principles, or to fix duty upon its proper foundations. Their precepts also, such as they were, and their manner of explaining them, had now imbibed a strong tincture of the Peripatetic philosophy, as appears from certain treatises of BEDE, and the *treatise* of ALCUIN, *concerning virtue and vice* [p]. That the people, however, might be animated to the pursuit of virtue by the commanding power of example, BEDE, FLORUS, ALCUIN, MARCELLINUS, AMBROSE AUTHPERT, and others employed their pious industry in writing the lives of such as had been eminent for their piety, and worthy deeds.

Controversies.

VIII. The controversies that turned upon the main and essential points of religion were, during this century, few in number, and scarcely any of them managed with tolerable sagacity or judgment. The greatest part of the Greeks were involved in the dispute concerning images, in which their reasonings were utterly destitute of precision and perspicuity; while the Latins employed their chief zeal and industry in confuting and extirpating the doctrine of ELIPAND concerning the person of CHRIST. JOHN DAMASCENUS exposed the errors of all the different sects in a short, but useful and interesting, treatise; he also attacked the Manichæans and Nestorians with a particular vehemence, and even went so far in his polemic labours as to combat the erroneous doctrine of the Saracens. In these compositions we find several proofs of subtilty and genius, but very little of that clearness and simplicity that constitute the chief merit of polemic writings. The Jews were left almost unmolested, as the Christians were sufficiently employed by the controversies

[o] JOS. SIMON ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 129.

[p] This treatise is extant in the works of ALCUIN, published by QUERCETANUS, tom. ii. p. 1218.

that

that had arisen among themselves: ANASTASIUS, abbot of *Palestine*, made, however, some attempts to subdue the infidelity of that obstinate people.

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

IX. Of all the controversies which agitated and perplexed the Christian church during this century, that which arose concerning the worship of images in *Greece*, and was carried from thence into both the eastern and western provinces, was the most unhappy and pernicious in its consequences. The first sparks of this terrible flame, that had like to have proved fatal both to the interests of religion and government, had already appeared under the reign of PHILIPPICUS BARDANES, who was created emperor of the Greeks a little after the commencement of this century. This prince, with the consent of JOHN patriarch of *Constantinople*, ordered a picture, which represented the sixth general council, to be pulled down from its place in the church of *St. Sophia A. D.* 712; because this council had condemned the Monothelites, whose cause the emperor espoused with the greatest ardor and vehemence. Nor did BARDANES stop here; but sent immediately an order to *Rome* to remove all images of that nature from the churches and other places of worship. His orders, however, were far from being received with submission, or producing their resigned effect; on the contrary, CONSTANTINE, the Roman pontif, not only rejected, by a formal protest, the imperial edict, but, resolved to express his contempt of it by his actions as well as his words: He ordered six pictures, representing the six general councils, to be placed in the porch of *St. Peter's church*; and, that no act of rebellion or arrogance might be left unemployed, he assembled a council at *Rome*, in which he caused the emperor himself to be condemned as an apostate from the true religion. These first tumults were quelled by a revolution, which, the year following, deprived BARDANES of the imperial throne [q].

The origin
of the dis-
pute con-
cerning the
worship of
images.

X. The dispute, however, broke out with redoubled fury under LEO the Isaurian, a prince of the greatest re-

Its progress
under Leo
the Isaurian.

[q] See FRED. SPANHEMII *Historia imaginum restituta*, which is published in the second volume of his works, and also printed apart. MAIMBOURG's *History of this controversy*, which is full of the most absurd and malignant fictions. MURATORI *Annali d' Italia*, tom. iv. p. 221.

solution

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

solution and intrepidity, and the new tumults it excited were both violent and durable. LEO, unable to bear any longer the excessive height to which the Greeks carried their superstitious attachment to the worship of images, and the sharp railleries and serious reproaches, which this idolatrous service drew upon the Christians from the Jews and Saracens, determined, by the most vigorous proceedings, to root out at once this growing evil. For this purpose he issued out an edict, A. D. 726, by which it was ordered, not only that the worship of images should be abrogated and relinquished, but also that all the images, except that of CHRIST's crucifixion, should be removed out of the churches [r]. In this proceeding the emperor acted more from the impulse of his natural character, which was warm and vehement, than from the dictates of prudence, which avoids precipitancy where prejudices are to be combated, and destroys and mines inveterate superstitions rather by slow and imperceptible attacks, than by open and violent assaults. The imperial edict produced such effects, as might have been expected from the frantic enthusiasm of a superstitious people. A civil war broke out in the islands of the Archipelago, ravaged a part of *Asia*, and afterwards reached *Italy*. The people, partly from their own ignorance, but principally, in consequence of the perfidious suggestions of the priests and monks, who had artfully rendered the worship of images a source of opulence to their churches and cloisters, were led to regard the emperor as an apostate, and hence they considered themselves as freed from their oath of allegiance, and from all the obligations that attach subjects to their lawful sovereign.

¶ (r) In this account of the imperial edict, Dr. MOSHEIM follows the opinions of BARONIUS, FLEURY, and LE SUER. Others affirm, with more probability, that this famous edict did not enjoin the pulling down images every where and casting them out of the churches, but only prohibited the paying to them any kind of adoration or worship. It would seem as if LEO was not, at first, averse to the use of images, as ornaments, or even as helps to devotion and memory; for at the same time that he forbid them to be worshipped, he ordered them to be placed higher in the churches, say some, to avoid this adoration; but afterwards finding that they were the occasion of idolatry, he had them removed from the churches and broken.

XI. The Roman pontiffs GREGORY I, and II were the authors and ringleaders of these civil commotions and insurrections in *Italy*. The former, upon the emperor's refusing to revoke his edict against images, declared him, without hesitation, unworthy of the name and privileges of a Christian, and thus excluded him from the communion of the church; and no sooner was this formidable sentence made public, than the Romans, and other Italian provinces, that were subject to the Grecian empire, violated their allegiance, and rising in arms either massacred or banished all the emperor's deputies and officers. LEO exasperated by these insolent proceedings, resolved to chastise the Italian rebels, and to make the haughty pontiff feel, in a particular manner, the effects of his resentment; but he failed in the attempt. Doubly irritated by this disappointment, he vented his fury against images, and their worshipers, in the 730, in a much more terrible manner than he had hitherto done; for, in a council assembled at *Constantinople*, he degraded from his office GERMANUS, the bishop of that imperial city, who was a patron of images, put ANASTASIUS in his place, ordered all the images to be publicly burnt, and inflicted a variety of severe punishments upon such as were attached to that idolatrous worship. These rigorous measures divided the Christian church into two violent factions, whose contests were carried on with an ungoverned rage, and produced nothing but mutual invectives, crimes, and assassinations. Of these factions the one adopted the adoration and worship of images, and were on that account called *Iconoduli* or *Iconolatræ*; while the other maintained that such worship was unlawful, and that nothing was more worthy of the zeal of Christians than to demolish and destroy those statues and pictures, that were the occasions and objects of this gross idolatry, and hence they were distinguished by the titles of *Iconomachi* and *Iconoclastæ*. The furious zeal, which GREGORY II had shewn in defending the odious superstition of image-worship, was not only imitated, but even surpassed by his successor, who was the III^d pontiff of that name; and though, at this distance of time, we are not acquainted with all the criminal circumstances that attended the intemperate zeal of these insolent prelates, yet we know with the utmost certainty, that

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

The contests between the partisans of images who were called *Iconoduli*, and their opposers, who were called *Iconoclastæ*.

it

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

Their pro-
gress under
Constantine
Copronyu-
mus.

it was owing to their extravagant attachment to image-worship that the Italian provinces were torn from the Grecian empire [s].

XII. CONSTANTINE, to whom the furious tribe of the image-worshippers had given by way of derision the name of COPRONYMUS [t], succeeded his father LEO in the empire A. D. 741, and, animated with an equal zeal and ardour against the new idolatry, employed all his influence in extirpating and abolishing the worship of images in opposition to the vigorous efforts of the Roman pontiffs, and the superstitious monks. His manner of proceeding was attended with greater marks of equity and moderation, than had appeared in the measures pursued by LEO; for, knowing the respect which the Greeks had for the decisions of general councils, whose authority they con-

[s] The Greek writers tell us, that both the GREGORIES carried their insolence so far as to excommunicate LEO and his son CONSTANTINE, to dissolve the obligation of the oath of allegiance, which the people of *Italy* had taken to these princes, and to prohibit their paying tribute to them, or shewing them any marks of submission and obedience. These facts are also acknowledged by many of the partisans of the Roman pontiffs, such as BARONIUS, SIGONIUS *De Regno Italiae*, and their numerous followers. On the other hand, some learned writers, particularly among the French, alleviate considerably the crime of the GREGORIES, and positively deny that they either excommunicated the emperors abovementioned, or called off the people from their duty and allegiance. See LAUNOIUS, *Epistolar.* lib. vii. *Ep.* vii. p. 456. tom. v. opp. par. II. NATAL. ALEXANDER, *Select. Histor. Ecclesiast. Capit.* sæc. viii. Dissert. i. p. 456. PETR. de MARCA, *Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii*, lib. iii. cap. xi. BOSSUET, *Defens. Declarationis Cleri Gallic. de potestate Eccles.* par. I. lib. vi. cap. xii. p. 197. GIANNONE, *Histoire Civile de Naples*, tom. i. p. 400. All these found their opinions, concerning the conduct of the GREGORIES, chiefly upon the authority of the Latin writers, such as ANASTASIUS, PAUL DEACON, and others, who seem to have known nothing of that audacious insolence, with which these pontiffs are said to have opposed the emperors, and even represent them as having given several marks of their submission and obedience to the imperial authority. Such are the contrary accounts of the Greek and Latin writers; and the most prudent use we can make of them is, to suspend our judgment with respect to a matter, which the obscurity that covers the history of this period, renders it impossible to clear up. All that we can know with certainty is, that the zeal of the two pontiffs abovementioned for the worship of images, furnished to the people of *Italy* the occasion of falling from their allegiance to the Grecian emperors.

(t) This nick-name was given to CONSTANTINE, from his having defiled the sacred font at his baptism.

sidered

sidered as supreme and unlimited in religious matters, he assembled at *Constantinople*, A. D. 754, a council composed of the eastern bishops, in order to have this important question examined with the utmost care, and decided with wisdom, seconded by a just and lawful authority. This assembly, which the Greeks regard as the *seventh oecumenical council*, gave judgment, as was the custom of those times, in favour of the opinion embraced by the emperor, and solemnly condemned the worship and also the use of images [u]. But this decision was not sufficient to vanquish the blind obstinacy of superstition; many adhered still to their idolatrous worship, and none made a more turbulent resistance to the wise decree of this council than the monks, who still continued to excite commotions in the state, and to blow the flames of sedition and rebellion among the people. Their malignity was, however, chastised by CONSTANTINE, who, filled with a just indignation at their seditious practices, punished several of them in an exemplary manner, and by new laws set bounds to the violence of monastic rage. LEO IV, who, after the death of CONSTANTINE, was declared emperor A. D. 775, adopted the sentiments of his father and grandfather, and pursued the measures which they had concerted for the extirpation of idolatry out of the Christian church; for having perceived that the worshippers of images could not be engaged by mild and gentle proceedings to abandon this superstitious practice, he had recourse to the coercive influence of penal laws.

XIII. A cup of poison, administered by the impious counsel of a perfidious spouse, deprived LEO IV of his life A. D. 780, and rendered the idolatrous cause of images triumphant. The profligate IRENE, after having thus accomplished the death of her husband, held the reins of empire during the minority of her son CONSTANTINE; and, to establish her authority on more solid foundations, entered into an alliance with ADRIAN, bishop of *Rome*, A. D. 786. and summoned a council at *Nice* in *Bitthynia*, which is known by the title of the *second Nicene*

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

Under Irene.

(u) The authority of this council is not acknowledged by the Roman catholics, no more than the obligation of the *second commandment*, which they have prudently struck out of the decalogue.

council.

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

council. In this assembly the imperial laws concerning the new idolatry were abrogated, the decrees of the council of *Constantinople* reversed, the worship of images and of the cross restored, and severe punishments denounced against such as maintained that God was the only object of religious adoration. It is impossible to imagine any thing more ridiculous and trifling than the arguments, upon which the bishops, assembled in this council, founded their decrees [w]. The authority, however, of these decrees was held sacred by the Romans, and the Greeks considered in the light of parricides and traitors all such as refused to submit to them. The other enormities of the flagitious *IRENE*, and her deserved fate, cannot, with propriety, be treated of here.

The council
of Franc-
fort.

XIV. In these violent contests, the most of the Latins, such as the Britons, Germans, and Gauls, seemed to steer a middle way between the opposite tenets of the contending parties. They were of opinion that images might be lawfully preserved, and even placed in the churches, but, at the same time, they looked upon all worship of them as highly injurious and offensive to the supreme being [x]. Such, particularly, were the sentiments of *CHARLEMAGNE*, who distinguished himself in this important controversy. By the advice of the French bishops, who were no friends to this second council of *Nice*, he ordered some learned and judicious divine to compose *Four Books concerning images*, which he sent, in the year 790, to *ADRIAN*, the Roman pontif, with a view to engage him to withdraw his approbation of the decrees of that council. In this performance the reasons alledged by the *Nicene* bishops to justify the worship of images, are refuted with great accuracy and spirit [y]. They were not, however,

[w] MART. CHEMNITIUS, *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, par. iv. loc. ii. cap. v. p. 52. LENFANT, *Preservatif contre la Reunion avec le Siege de la Rome*, par. iii. lettre xvii. p. 446.

[x] The aversion the Britons had to the worship of images may be seen in SPELMAN *ad Concilia Magnæ Britanniae*, tom. i. p. 73.

[y] The books of *CHARLEMAGNE concerning Images*, which deserve an attentive perusal, are yet extant; and when they were become extremely scarce, were republished at *Hanover* in 8vo in 1731, by the celebrated CHRISTOPHER. AUG. HEUMAN, who enriched this edition with a learned Preface. These books are adorned with the venerable name of *CHARLEMAGNE*; but it is easy to perceive that they are the production of a scholastic divine,

left

left without defence; ADRIAN, who was afraid of acknowledging even an emperor for his master, composed an answer to the *Four Books* mentioned above, but neither his arguments, nor his authority, were sufficient to support the superstition he endeavoured to maintain; for, in the year 794, CHARLEMAGNE assembled, at *Francfort* on the *Maine*, a council of three hundred bishops, in order to re-examine this important question; in which the opinion contained in the *Four Books* was solemnly confirmed, and the worship of images unanimously condemned [2]. From hence we may conclude, that in this century the Latins deemed it neither impious, nor unlawful, to dissent from the opinion of the Roman pontif, and even to charge that prelate with error.

XV. While the controversy concerning images was at its height, a new contest arose among the Latins and Greeks about the source from whence the Holy Ghost proceeded. The Latins affirmed, that this divine spirit proceeded from the father and the son; the Greeks, on the contrary, asserted, that it proceeded from the father only. The origin of this controversy is covered with perplexity and doubt. It is, however, certain, that it was agitated in the council of *Gentilli*, near *Paris*, A. D. 767, in presence of the emperor's legates [a], and from this we may conclude, with a high degree of probability, that it arose in *Greece* at that time when the contest about images was carried on with the greatest vehemence. In this controversy the Latins alledged, in favour of their opinion, the creed of *Constantinople*, which the Spaniards and French had successively corrupted (upon what occasion is not well known) by adding the words *filioque* in

The controversy about the derivation of the Holy Ghost.

and not of an emperor. Several learned men have conjectured, that CHAREMAGNE composed these books with the assistance of his preceptor ALCUIN; see HEUMANNI *Præf.* p. 51. and BUNAU *Historia Imperii German.* tom. i. p. 490. This conjecture, though far from being contemptible, cannot be admitted without hesitation; since ALCUIN was in *England* when these books were composed. We learn from the history of his life, that he went into *England* A. D. 789, and did not return from thence before 792.

[2] This event is treated with a degree of candour not more laudable, than surprizing, by MABILLON, in *Præf. ad Sæculum* iv. *Actorum SS. Ord. Benedict.* part V. See also JO. GEORG. DORSCHKEUS, *Collat. ad Concilium Francofordiense*, *Argentor.* 1649. in 4to.

[a] See LE COINTE *Annales Eccles. Francorum*, tom. v. p. 698.

that

CENT.
VIII.
PART II.

that part of it which contained the doctrine concerning the Holy Ghost. The Greeks, on the other hand, made loud complaints of this criminal attempt of the Latins to corrupt by a manifest interpolation a creed, which served as a rule of doctrine for the church universal, and declared this attempt impudent and sacrilegious. Thus the dispute changed at length its object, and was transferred from the matter to the interpolated word above mentioned [b]: in the following century it was carried on with still greater vehemence, and added new fuel to the dissensions which already portended a schism between the eastern and western churches [c].

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the church during this century.

Ceremonies
multiplied.

I. THE religion of this century consisted almost entirely in a motley round of external rites and ceremonies. We are not, therefore, to wonder that more zeal and diligence were employed in multiplying and re-

[b] Learned men generally imagine that this controversy began about the word *filioque*, which some of the Latins had added to the Creed that had been drawn up by the council of *Constantinople*, and that from the word the dispute proceeded to the doctrine itself; see MABILLON, *Act. Sanctior. Ord. Bened. Sac. iv. par. I. Præf. p. iv.* who is followed by many in this opinion. But this opinion is certainly erroneous. The doctrine was the first subject of controversy, which afterwards extended to the word *filioque*, considered by the Greeks as a manifest interpolation. Among other proofs of this, the council of *Gentili* shews evidently, that the doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit had been, for a considerable time, the subject of controversy, when the dispute arose about the word now mentioned. PAGI, in his *Critica in Baronium*, tom. iii. p. 323. is of opinion, that this controversy had both its date and its occasion from the dispute concerning images: for when the Latins treated the Greeks as heretics, on account of their opposition to image-worship, the Greeks, in their turn, charged the Latins also with heresy, on account of their maintaining that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the father and the son. The learned critic has, however, advanced this opinion without sufficient proof, and we must therefore consider it as no more than a probable conjecture.

[c] See PITHOEI *Hist. controv. de processione Spiritus S.* at the end of his *Codex Canon. Eccles. Roman.* p. 355. LE QUIEN, *Oriens Christian.* tom. iii. p. 354. GER. J. VOSSIUS, *De Tribus Symbolis, Diss.* iii. p. 65: and above all, JO. GEORG. WALCHIUS, *Histor. controv. de processione Spiritus S.* published in 8vo at *Jena* in 1751.

gulating

gulating these outward marks of a superstitious devotion, than in correcting the vices and follies of men, in enlightening their understandings and forming their hearts. The administration of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, which was deemed the most solemn and important branch of divine worship, was now every where embellished, or rather deformed, with a variety of senseless fopperies, which destroyed the beautiful simplicity of that affecting and salutary institution. We also find manifest traces in this century of that superstitious custom of celebrating what were called *solitary masses* [d], though it be difficult to decide whether they were instituted by a public law, or introduced by the authority of private persons [e]. Be that as it may, this single custom is sufficient to give us an idea of the superstition and darkness that sat brooding over the Christian church in this ignorant age, and renders it unnecessary to enter into a further detail of the absurd rites with which a designing priesthood continued to disfigure the religion of JESUS.

II. CHARLEMAGNE seemed disposed to stem this torrent of superstition, which gathered force from day to day; for not to mention the zeal with which he opposed the worship of images, there are other circumstances that bear testimony to his intentions in this matter, such as his preventing the multiplication of festivals, by reducing them to a fixed and limited number, his prohibiting the ceremony of consecrating the church-bells by the rite of holy asperision, and other ecclesiastical laws of his enacting, which redound to his honour. Several circumstances, however, concurred to render his designs abortive, and to blast the success of his worthy purposes, and none more than his excessive attachment to the Roman pontiffs, who were the patrons and protectors of those who exerted themselves in the cause of ceremonies. This

Charle-
magne's
zeal for the
rites of the
church of
Rome.

[d] *Solitary or private masses* were those that were celebrated by the priest alone in behalf of souls detained in purgatory, as well as upon some other particular occasions. These masses were prohibited by the laws of the church, but they were a rich source of profit to the clergy. They were condemned by the canons of a synod assembled at *Mentz* under CHARLEMAGNE, as criminal innovations, and as the fruits of avarice and sloth.

[e] See CHARLEMAGNE's book concerning *Images*, p. 245; as also GEORGE CALIXTUS, *De Missis Solitariis*, § 12.

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

vehement passion for the lordly pontif was inherited by the great prince, of whom we are now speaking, from his father PEPIN, who had already commanded the manner of singing, and the kind of church-music in use at *Rome* to be observed every where in all Christian churches. It was in conformity with his example, and in compliance with the repeated and importunate sollicitation of the pontif ADRIAN, that CHARLEMAGNE laboured to bring all the Latin churches to follow, as their model, the church of *Rome*, not only in the article now mentioned, but also in the whole form of their worship, in every circumstance of their religious service [*f*]. Several churches however, among which those of *Milan* and *Corbetta* distinguished themselves eminently, absolutely rejected this proposal, and could neither be brought by persuasion nor violence to change their usual method of worship.

C H A P. V.

Concerning the divisions and hereses that troubled the church during this century.

The ancient
sects recover
strength.

I. **T**HE Arians, Manicheans, and Marcionites though often depressed by the force of penal laws and the power of the secular arm, gathered strength in the east amidst the tumults and divisions with which the Grecian empire was perpetually agitated, and drew great numbers into the profession of their opinions [*g*]. The Monothelites, to whose cause the emperor PHILIPPICUS, and many others of the first rank and dignity were most zealous well-wishers, regained their credit in several places. The condition also of both the Nestorians and Monophysites was easy and agreeable under the dominion of the Arabians; their power and influence was considerable; nor were they destitute of means of weakening the Greeks their irreconcilable adversaries, and of spreading their doctrines, and multiplying every where the number of their adherents.

[*f*] See CHARLEMAGNE'S *Treatise concerning Images*, book I. p. 52. EGINARD, *De vita Caroli Magni*, cap. 26. p. 94. edit. Besselin.

[*g*] In *Europe* also Arianism prevailed greatly among the barbarous nations that embraced the Christian faith.

II. In the church which BONIFACE had newly erected in *Germany*, he himself tells us, that there were many perverse and erroneous reprobates, who had no true notion of religion, and his friends and adherents confirm this assertion. But the testimony both of the one and the others is undoubtedly partial, and unworthy of credit; since it appears from the most evident proofs, that the persons here accused of errors and heresies were Irish and French divines, who refused that blind submission to the church of *Rome*, which BONIFACE was so zealous to propagate every where. ADALBERT a Gaul, and CLEMENT a native of *Ireland*, were the persons whose opposition gave the most trouble to the ambitious legate. The former got himself consecrated bishop without the consent of BONIFACE, excited seditions and tumults among the eastern Franks, and appears, indeed, to have been both flagitious in his conduct and erroneous in his opinions; among other irregularities, he was the forger [b]; of a letter to the human race, which was said to have been written by JESUS CHRIST, and to have been carried from heaven by the arch-angel MICHAEL [i]. As to CLEMENT, his character and sentiments were maliciously misrepresented, since it appears, by the best and most authentic accounts, that he was much better acquainted with the true principles and doctrines of Christianity than BONIFACE himself; and hence he is considered by many as a confessor and sufferer for the truth in this barbarous age [k]. Be that as it will, both ADALBERT and CLEMENT were condemned, at the instigation of BONIFACE, by the pontif ZACHARY, in a council assembled at *Rome*

C E N T.
VIII.
P A R T II.

Clemens
and Adal-
bert.

[b] See the *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 82.

[i] There is an edition of this letter published by the learned STEPHEN BALUZIUS, in the *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, tom. ii. p. 1396.

[k] We find an enumeration of the erroneous opinions of CLEMENT in the letters of BONIFACE *Epistol.* cxxxv. p. 189. See also USSERII *Sylloge Epistolarum Hibernicarum*, p. 12. *Nouveau Dictionnaire Histor. Critic.* tom. i. p. 133. ¶ The zealous BONIFACE was too ignorant to be a proper judge of heresy, as appears by his condemning VIRGILIUS for believing that there were antipodes. The great heresy of CLEMENT seems to have been his preferring the decisions of scripture to decrees of councils and the opinions of the fathers, which he took the liberty to reject when they were not conformable to the word of God.

EVENT. A. D. 748 [l], and in consequence thereof were committed to prison, where, in all probability, they concluded their days.

VIII.
PART II.

Felix and
Elipand.

III. Religious discord ran still higher in *Spain, France, and Germany* towards the conclusion of this century; and the most unhappy tumults and commotions were occasioned by a question proposed to FELIX, bishop of *Urgella*, by ELIPAND, arch-bishop of *Toledo*, who desired to know in what sense CHRIST was the son of God? The answer which the former gave to this question, was, that CHRIST, considered in his divine nature, was *truly and essentially* the son of God; but that, considered as a man, he was only so, *nominally and by adoption*. This doctrine was spread abroad by the two prelates; ELIPAND propagated it in the different provinces of *Spain*, and FELIX throughout *Septimania*, while the pontif ADRIAN, and the greatest part of the Latin doctors, looked upon this opinion as a renovation of the Nestorian heresy, by its representing CHRIST, as divided into two distinct persons. In consequence of this, FELIX was successively condemned by the councils of *Narbonne, Ratisbon, Francfort on the Main, and Rome*; and was finally obliged, by the council of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, to retract his error, and to change his opinion [m]. The change he made was, however, rather nominal than real, the common shift of temporizing divines; for he still retained his doctrine, and died in the firm belief of it at *Lyons*, where he had been banished by CHARLEMAGNE [n]. ELIPAND, on the contrary, lived

[l] This is the true date of the council assembled by ZACHARY for the condemnation of ADALBERT and CLEMENT, and not the year 745, as FLEURY * and MABILLON † have pretended, in which error they are followed by Mr. BOWER, in the third volume of his *History of the Popes*, p. 325. The proof is, that the letter of BONIFACE, in consequence of which this council was assembled, must have been wrote in the year 748; since he declares in that letter, that he had been near thirty years legate of the holy see of *Rome*, into which commission he entered, as all authors agree, about the year 719.

[m] The council of *Narbonne* that condemned FELIX, was held in the year 788, that of *Ratisbon* in 792, that of *Francfort* in 794, that of *Rome* in 799.

[n] The authors, who have written concerning the sect of FELIX, are mentioned by JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, *Biblioth. Lat. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 482. Add to these PETRUS de MARCA, in his *Marca*

* *Hist. Ecclesiast.* tom. ix. p. 296. † *Annal. Ord. Benedic.* lib. xxii. n. 8.

secure

secure in *Spain* under the dominion of the Saracens, far removed from the thunder of synods and councils, and out of the reach of that coercive power in religious matters, whose utmost efforts can go no further than to make the erroneous, hypocrites or martyrs. Many are of opinion, that the disciples of FELIX, who were called *Adoptians*, departed much less from the doctrine generally received among Christians, than is commonly imagined; and that what chiefly distinguished their tenets was the term they used, and their manner of expression, rather than a real diversity of sentiments [o]. But as this sect, together with their chief, thought proper to make use of singular, and sometimes of contradictory, expressions; this furnished such as accused them of Nestorianism, with very plausible reasons to support their charge.

Hispanica, lib. iii. cap. xii. p. 368. JO. de FERRERAS, *Histoire Generale d'Espagne*, tom. ii. p. 518. 523. 528. 535. 560. JO. MABILLON *Præf. ad Sæc. iv. Act. SS. Ord. Benedicti*, part II. There are also very particular accounts given of FELIX by DOM. COLONIA, *Histoire Litteraire de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 79. and by the Benedictine monks in their *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 434.

[o] JO. GEORGE DORSCHÉUS, *Collat. ad Concilium Francofurt.* p. 101. WERENFELS, *De Logomachiis Eruditor.* p. 459. Opp. JAC. BASNAGIUS *Præf. ad Etherium in HENR. CANISII Lection. antiquis*, tom. ii. part I. p. 284. GEORGE CALIXTUS, *Singul. Diss.*

THE NINTH CENTURY.

PART I.

The External HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the prosperous events, which happened to the church, during this century.

CENT.
IX.
PART I.

The Swedes,
Danes, and
Cimbrians
converted.

THE reign of CHARLEMAGNE had been singularly auspicious to the Christian cause; the life of that great prince was principally employed in the most zealous efforts to propagate and establish the religion of JESUS among the Huns, Saxons, Frieslanders, and other unenlightened nations; but his piety was mixed with violence, his spiritual conquests were generally made by the force of arms, and this impure mixture tarnishes the lustre of his noblest exploits. His son LEWIS, undeservedly surnamed the MEEK, inherited the defects of his illustrious father without his virtues, and was his equal in violence and cruelty, but vastly his inferior in all worthy and valuable accomplishments. Under his reign a very favourable opportunity was offered of propagating the gospel among the northern nations, and particularly among the inhabitants of *Sweden* and *Denmark*. A petty king of *Jutland*, named HARALD KLACK, being driven from both his kingdom and country, in the year 826, by REGNER LODBROCK, threw himself at the emperor's feet and implored his succours against the usurper. LEWIS granted his request, and promised the exiled prince his protection and assistance, on condition, however, that he would

would embrace Christianity, and admit the ministers of that religion to preach in his dominions. HARALD submitted to these conditions, was baptized with his brother at *Mentz*, A. D. 826, and returned into his country attended by two eminent divines, ANSGAR or ANSCHAIRE and AUTHBERT; the former a monk of *Corbey* in *Westphalia*, and the latter belonging to a monastery of the same name in *France*. These venerable missionaries preached the gospel with remarkable success, during the space of two years, to the inhabitants of *Cimbria* and *Futland*.

II. After the death of his learned and pious companion AUTBERT, the zealous and indefatigable ANSGAR made a voyage into *Sweden*, A. D. 828, where his ministerial labours were also crowned with a distinguished success. As he returned from thence into *Germany* in the year 831, he was loaded by LEWIS the MEEK with ecclesiastical honours, being created arch-bishop of the new church at *Hamburg*, and also of the whole north, to which dignity the superintendence of the church of *Bremen* was afterwards added in the year 844. The profits attached to this high and honourable charge were very inconsiderable; while the perils and labours, in which it involved the pious prelate, were truly formidable. Accordingly ANSGAR travelled frequently among the Danes, Cimbrians, and Swedes, in order to promote the cause of CHRIST, to form new churches, and to confirm and establish those which he had already gathered together; in all which arduous enterprizes he passed his life in the most imminent dangers, until he concluded his glorious course A. D. 865 [a].

CENT.
IX.
PART I.

The promotion and labours of Ansgar.

[a] The writers to whom we are indebted for accounts of this pious and illustrious prelate, the founder of the Cimbrian, Danish, and Swedish churches, are mentioned by JO. ALBERT. FAERICIUS, in his *Biblioth. Latin. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 292. as also in his *Lux Evangelii orbi terrarum exoriens*, p. 425. Add to these the Benedictine monks, in their *Histoire Litt. de la France*, tom. v. p. 277. *Acta Sanctor. Mens. Februar.* tom. i. p. 391. ERICI PONTOPPIDANI *Annales Eccles. Danicæ Diplomatici*, tom. i. p. 18. JO. MOLLERUS, *Cimbriæ Litteratæ*, tom. iii. p. 8. These writers give us also circumstantial accounts of EBBO, WITHMAR, REMBERT, and others, who were either the fellow-labourers or successors of ANSGAR.

C E N T.

IX.

P A R T I.

Conversion
of the Bul-
garians, Bo-
hemians,
and Moravi-
ans.

III. About the middle of this century the Mœsians [b], Bulgarians, and Gazarians, and after them the Bohemians and Moravians, were converted to Christianity by METIHODIUS and CYRIL, two Greek monks, whom the empress THEODORA had sent to dispel the darkness of these idolatrous nations [c]. The zeal of CHARLEMAGNE, and his pious missionaries, had been formerly exerted in the same cause, and among the same people [d], but with so little success, that any faint notions which they had received of the Christian doctrine were entirely effaced. The instructions of the Grecian doctors had a much better and also a more permanent effect; but as they recommended to their new disciples the forms of worship, and the various rites and ceremonies used among the Greeks [e], this was the occasion of much religious animosity and contention in after-times, when the lordly pontiffs exerted all their vehemence and employed every means, though with imperfect success, of reducing these nations under the discipline and jurisdiction of the Latin church.

Of the Sla-
vonians and
Russians.

IV. Under the reign of BASILIUS, the Macedonian, who ascended the imperial throne of the Greeks in the year 867, the Slavonians, Arentani, and certain provinces of *Dalmatia*, sent a solemn embassy to *Constantinople*, to declare their resolution of submitting to the jurisdiction of the Grecian empire, and of embracing, at the same time, the Christian religion. This proposal was received with admiration and joy, and it was also answered by a suitable ardour and zeal for the conversion of a people, which seemed so ingenuously disposed to embrace the truth: accordingly, a competent number of Grecian doctors were sent among them to instruct them in the knowledge of the gospel, and to admit them by baptism into the Christi-

[b] We have translated thus the term *Mysi*, which is an error in the original. Dr. MOSHEIM, like many others, has confounded the Mysians with the inhabitants of *Mæsia*, by giving the latter, who were Europeans, the title of the former, who dwelt in *Asia*.

[c] JO. GEORGE STREDOWSKY, *Sacra Moraviæ Historia*, lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 94. compared with PET. KOHLII *Introduc. in Historiam et rem Litter. Slavorum*, p. 124.

[d] STREDOWSKY, *loc. cit.* lib. i. cap. ix. p. 55.

[e] LENFANT, *Histoire de la guerre des Hussites*, livr. i. ch. i. p. 2.

an church [f]. The warlike nation of the Russians were converted under the same emperor, but not in the same manner, nor from the same noble and rational motives. Having entered into a treaty of peace with that prince, they were engaged by various presents and promises to embrace the gospel, in consequence of which they received not only the Christian ministers that were appointed to instruct them, but also an arch-bishop, whom the Grecian patriarch IGNATIUS had sent among them, to perfect their conversion and establish their church [g]. Such were the beginnings of Christianity among the bold and warlike Russians, who were inhabitants of the *Ukraine*, and who, a little before their conversion, fitted out a formidable fleet, and setting sail from *Kiovia* for *Constantinople*, spread terror and dismay through the whole empire [h].

V. It is proper to observe, with respect to the various conversions which we have now been relating, that they were undertaken upon much better principles, and

The nature
of these conversions.

[f] We are indebted for this account of the conversion of the Slavonians to the treatise *De administrando imperio*, composed by the learned emperor CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGEN, which is published by BANDURIUS in *Imperium Orientale*, tom. i. p. 72, 73. CONSTANTINE gives the same account of this event in the life of his grandfather BASILIUS the Macedonian, § 54. published in the *Corpus Byzantinum*, tom. xvi. p. 133, 134.

[g] CONSTANTINUS Porph. *Vita Basilii Macedonis*, § 96. p. 157. *Corp. Byzant.* See also the *Narratio de Ruthenorum Conversione*, published both in Greek and Latin by BANDURIUS, in his *Imperium Orientale*, notis ad Porphyrogenetam de administrando imperio, p. 62. tom. ii.

[h] The learned LEQUIEN, in his *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 1257. gives a very inaccurate account of these Russians, who were converted to Christianity under the reign of BASILIUS the Macedonian, and in this he does no more than adopt the errors of many who wrote before him upon the same subject. Nor is he consistent with himself; for in one place he affirms, that the people here spoken of were the Russians, that lived in the neighbourhood of the Bulgarians; while in another he maintains, that by these Russians, we are to understand the Gazarians. The only reason he alledges to support this latter opinion is, that, among the Christian doctors sent to instruct the Russians, mention is made of CYRIL, who converted the Gazari to Christianity. This reason shews, that the learned writer had a most imperfect knowledge both of these Russians and the Gazari. He is also guilty of other mistakes upon the same subject. There is a much better explanation of this matter given by the very learned THEOPH. SIGIFRED. BAYER, *Dissert. de Russorum prima expeditione Constantinopolitana*, which is published in the sixth volume of the *Commentaria Acad. Scientiar. Petropolitana*.

exe-

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T I.

executed in a more pious and rational manner, than those of the preceding ages. The ministers, who were now sent to instruct and convert the barbarous nations, employed not, like many of their predecessors, the terror of penal laws, to affright men into the profession of Christianity; nor, in establishing churches upon the ruins of idolatry, were they principally attentive to promote the grandeur and extend the authority of the Roman pontiffs: their views were more noble, and their conduct more suitable to the genius of the religion they professed. They had principally in view the happiness of mankind, endeavoured to promote the gospel of truth and peace by methods of a rational persuasion, and seconded their arguments by the victorious power of exemplary lives. It must, however, be confessed, that the doctrine they taught was far from being conformable to that pure and excellent rule of faith and practice laid down by our divine Saviour, and his holy apostles; their religious system was, on the contrary, corrupted with a variety of superstitious rites and a multitude of absurd inventions. It is further certain, that there remained among these converted nations too many traces of the idolatrous religion of their ancestors, notwithstanding the zealous labours of their Christian guides; and it appears also that these pious missionaries were contented with introducing an external profession of the true religion among their new proselytes. It would be, however, unjust to accuse them on this account of negligence or corruption in the discharge of their ministry, since, in order to gain over these fierce and savage nations to the church, it may have been absolutely necessary to indulge them in some of their infirmities and prejudices, and to connive at many things, which they could not approve, and which, in other circumstances, they would have been careful to correct.

C H A P. II.

Concerning the calamities which happened to the church during this century.

The progress of the Saracens towards universal empire.

I. **T**HE Saracens had now extended their usurpations with an amazing success. Masters of *Asia*, a few provinces excepted, they pushed their conquests to the

the extremities of *India*, and obliged the greatest part of *Africa* to receive their yoke; nor were their enterprises in the west without effect, since *Spain* and *Sardinia* submitted to their arms, and fell under their dominion. But their conquests did not end here; for in the year 827, by the treason of EUPHEMIUS, they made themselves masters of the rich and fertile island of *Sicily*; and towards the conclusion of this century the Asiatic Saracens seized upon several cities of *Calabria*, and spread the terror of their victorious arms even to the very walls of *Rome*, while *Crete*, *Corfica*, and other adjacent islands, were either joined to their possessions, or laid waste by their incursions. It is easy to comprehend that this overgrown prosperity of a nation accustomed to bloodshed and rapine, and which also beheld the Christians with the utmost aversion, must have been every where detrimental to the progress of the gospel, and to the tranquillity of the church. In the east, more especially, a prodigious number of Christian families embraced the religion of their conquerors, that they might live in the peaceful enjoyment of their possessions. Many, indeed, refused this base and criminal compliance, and with a pious magnanimity adhered to their principles in the face of persecution; but such were gradually reduced to a miserable condition, and were not only robbed of the best part of their wealth, and deprived of their worldly advantages, but, what was still more deplorable, they fell by degrees into such incredible ignorance and stupidity, that, in process of time, there were scarcely any remains of Christianity to be found among them besides the mere name, and a few external rites and ceremonies. The European Saracens, particularly those who were settled in *Spain*, were of a much milder disposition, and seemed to have put off the greatest part of their native ferocity; so that the Christians, generally speaking, lived peaceably under their dominion, and were permitted to observe the laws and to enjoy the privileges of their holy profession. It must, however, be confessed, that this mild and tolerating conduct of the Saracens was not without some few exceptions of cruelty [i].

[i] See, for example, the account that is given of EULOGIUS, who suffered martyrdom at *Cordova*, in the *Acta Sanctorum ad d. xi Martii*, II. The

CENT.
IX.
PART I.

The Normans.

Form new settlements.

II. The European Christians had the most cruel sufferings to undergo from another quarter, even from the insatiable fury of a swarm of barbarians that issued out from the northern provinces. The Normans, under which general term are comprehended the Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes, whose habitations lay along the coasts of the Baltic sea, were a people accustomed to carnage and rapine. Their petty kings and chiefs, who subsisted by piracy and plunder, had already, during the reign of CHARLEMAGNE, infested with their fleets the coasts of the German ocean, but were restrained by the opposition they met with from the vigilance and activity of that warlike prince. In this century, however, they became more bold and enterprising, made frequent irruptions into *Germany*, *Britain*, *Friesland*, and the Gauls, and carried along with them, wherever they went, fire and sword, desolation and horror. The impetuous fury of these savage barbarians not only spread desolation through the *Spanish* provinces [k], but even penetrated into the very heart of *Italy*; for in the year 857, they sacked and pillaged the city of *Luna* in the most cruel manner, and about three years after *Pisa*, and several other cities of *Italy*, met with the same fate [l]. The ancient histories of the Franks abound with the most dismal accounts of their horrid exploits.

III. The first views of these savage invaders extended no further than plunder; but charmed at length with the beauty and fertility of the provinces, which they were so cruelly depopulating, they began to form settlements in them, nor were the European princes in a condition to oppose their usurpations. On the contrary, CHARLES the

tom. ii. p. 88; as also of RODERICK and SALOMON, two Spanish martyrs of this century. Ibid. *ad d. xiii Martii*, p. 238.

[k] JO. de FERRARAS, *Histoire Gener. d'Espagne*, tom. ii. p. 583. Piracy was esteemed among the northern nations a very honourable and noble profession; and hence the sons of kings, and the young nobility, were trained up to this species of robbery, and made it their principal business to perfect themselves in it. Nor will this appear very surprizing to such as consider the religion of these nations, and the barbarism of the times. See JO. LUD. HOLBERG. *Historia Danorum et Norvegorum Navalis*, in *Scriptis Societatis Scientiar. Hafniensis*, tom. iii. p. 349. in which there are a multitude of curious and interesting relations concerning the ancient piracies, drawn from the Danish and Norwegian annals.

[l] See the *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, published by MURATORI. BALD

BALD was obliged, in the year 850, to resign a considerable part of his dominions to this powerful banditti [m]; and a few years after, under the reign of CHARLES the GROSS, emperor and king of *France*, the famous Norman chief GODOFRED entered with an army into *Friesland*, and obstinately refused to sheath his sword before he was master of the whole province [n]. Such, however, of the Normans as settled among the Christians, contracted a gentler turn of mind, and gradually departed from their primitive brutality. Their marriages with the Christians contributed, no doubt, to civilize them; and engaged them to abandon the superstition of their ancestors with more facility, and to embrace the gospel with more readiness, than they would have otherwise done. Thus the proud conqueror of *Friesland* solemnly embraced the Christian religion after that he had received in marriage, from CHARLES the GROSS, GISELA, the daughter of LOTHAIRE the younger.

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T I.

[m] *Annales incerti Auctoris*, in PITHOEI *Scriptor. Francic.* p. 46.

[n] REGINONIS PRUMIENSIS *Annal.* lib. ii. f. 60. in PISTORII *Scriptor. German.*

P A R T II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

C H A P. I.

Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during this century.

C E N T.
IX.

P A R T I.

The state of
letters
among the
Greeks.

THE Grecian empire, in this century, was in circumstances every way proper to extinguish all taste for letters and philosophy, and all zeal for the cultivation of the sciences. The liberality, however, of the emperors, some of whom were men of learning and taste, and the wise precautions taken by the patriarchs of *Constantinople*, among whom PHOTIUS deserves the first rank in point of erudition, contributed to attach a certain number of learned men to that imperial city, and thus prevented the total decline of letters. Accordingly we find in *Constantinople*, at this time, several persons who excelled in eloquence and poetry; some who displayed, in their writings against the Latins, a considerable knowledge of the art of reasoning, and a high degree of dexterity in the management of controversy; and others who composed the history of their own times with accuracy and with elegance. The controversy with the Latins, when it grew more keen and animated, contributed in a particular manner to excite the literary emulation of the disputants, rendered them studious to acquire new ideas, and a rich and copious elocution, adorned with the graces of elegance and wit; and thus roused and invigorated talents that were ready to perish in indolence and sloth.

Of philoso-
phy.

II. We learn from the accounts of ZONARAS, that the study of philosophy lay for a long time neglected in this age; but it was revived, with a zeal for the sciences in general, under the emperor THEOPHILUS, and his son MICHAEL, III. This revival of letters was principally

owing

owing [o] to the encouragement and protection which the learned received from BARDAS, who had been declared CÆSAR, himself a weak and illiterate man, but a warm friend of the celebrated PHOTIUS, the great patron of science, by whose counsel he was, undoubtedly, directed in this matter. At the head of all the learned men to whom BARDAS committed the culture of the sciences, he placed LEO, surnamed the WISE, a man of the most profound and uncommon erudition, and who afterwards was consecrated bishop of *Thessalonica*. PHOTIUS explained the *Categories* of ARISTOTLE, while MICHAEL PSELLUS gave a brief exposition of the other works of that great philosopher.

CENT.
IX.
PART II.

III. The Arabians, who, instead of cultivating the arts and sciences, had thought of nothing hitherto but of extending their territories, were now excited to literary pursuits by ALMAMUNIS, otherwise called ABU GAUFAR ABDALLAH, whose zeal for the advancement of letters was great, and whose munificence towards men of learning and genius was truly royal. Under the auspicious protection of this celebrated caliph of *Babylon* and *Egypt*, the Arabians made a rapid and astonishing progress in various kinds of learning. This excellent prince began to reign about the time of the death of CHARLEMAGNE, and died in the year 833. He erected the famous schools of *Bagdad*, *Cufa*, and *Basora*, and established seminaries of learning in several other cities; he drew to his court men of eminent parts by his extraordinary liberality, set up noble libraries in various places, had translations made of the best Grecian productions into the Arabic language at a vast expence, and employed every method of promoting the cause of learning, that became a great and generous prince, whose zeal for the sciences was attended with knowledge [p]. It was under the reign of this immortal caliph, that the Arabians began to take pleasure in the Grecian learning, and to propagate it, by degrees, not only in *Syria* and *Africa*, but also in *Spain* and *Italy*; and

The state of
learning
among the
Arabians.

[o] *Annalium* tom. ii. lib. xvi. p. 126, tom. x. *Corporis Byzantiini*.

[p] ABULPHARAIUS, *Historia Dynastiar.* p. 246. GEORG. ELMACIN. *Histor. Saracen.* lib. ii. p. 139. BARTHOL. HERBELOT, *Biblioth. Orient.* Article MAMUN. p. 545.

CENT.
IX.
PART I.

from this period they give us a long catalogue of celebrated philosophers, physicians, astronomers, and mathematicians, who were ornaments to their nation through several succeeding ages [q]. And in this certainly they do not boast without reason; though we are not to consider, as literally true, all the wonderful and pompous things which the more modern writers of the Saracen history tell us of these illustrious philosophers.

After this period, the European Christians profited much by the Arabian learning, and were highly indebted to the Saracens for the improvement they made in the various sciences. For the mathematics, astronomy, physic, and philosophy, that were taught in *Europe* from the tenth century, were, for the most part, drawn from the Arabian schools, that were established in *Spain* and *Italy*, or from the writings of the Arabian sages. And from hence the Saracens may, in one respect, be justly considered as the restorers of learning in *Europe*.

The state
of letters
under
Charle-
magne, and
his succeß-
fors.

IV. In that part of *Europe*, that was subject to the dominion of the Franks, CHARLEMAGNE laboured with incredible zeal and ardour for the advancement of useful learning, and animated his subjects to the culture of the sciences in all their various branches. So that, had his successors been disposed to follow his example, and capable of acting upon the noble plan he formed, the empire, in a little time, would have been entirely delivered from barbarism and ignorance. It is true, this great prince left in his family a certain spirit of emulation, which animated his immediate successors to imitate, in some measure, his zeal for the prosperity of the republic of letters. LEWIS the MEEK both formed and executed several designs that were extremely conducive to the progress of the arts and sciences [r]; and his zeal, in this respect, was surpassed by the ardour with which his son CHARLES the BALD exerted himself in the propagation of letters, and in exciting the emulation of the learned by the most alluring marks of his protection and favour. This great patron of the sciences drew the *literati* to his court from all parts, took

[q] See the treatise of LEO AFRICANUS, *De Medicis et Philosophis Arabibus*, published a second time by FABRICIUS, in the twelfth volume of his *Bibliotheca Græca*, p. 259.

[r] See the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 583.

a particular delight in their conversation, multiplied and embellished the seminaries of learning, and protected, in a more especial manner, the aulic school, of which mention has been formerly made, and which was first erected in the seventh century, in order to the education of the royal family, and the first nobility [s]. His brother LOTHAIRE endeavoured to revive in *Italy* the drooping sciences, and to restore them from that state of languor and decay into which the corruption and indolence of the clergy had permitted them to fall. For this purpose he erected schools in the eight principal cities of *Italy*, A. D. 823 [t], but with little success, since it appears that that country was entirely destitute of men of learning and genius during the ninth century [u].

In *England* learning had a better fate under the auspicious protection of king ALFRED, who has acquired an immortal name, not only by the admirable progress he made in all kinds of elegant and useful knowledge [w], but also by the care he took to multiply men of letters and genius in his dominions, and to restore to the sciences, sacred and profane, the credit and lustre they so eminently deserve [x].

[s] HERMAN. CONRINGII *Antiquit. Academicæ*, p. 320. CÆS. EG. DU BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 178. LAUNOIUS, *De Scholis Caroli M.* cap. xi, xii. p. 47. *Histoire Litter. de la France*, tom. v. p. 483.

[t] See the edict for that purpose among the *Capitularia* in MURATORI *Rerum Italicar.* tom. i. part II. p. 151.

[u] See MURATORI's *Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. iii. p. 829.

[w] See ANT. WOOD, *Hist. et Antiquit. Academ. Oxoniens.* lib. p. 13. BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 211. *General Dictionary*, at the article ALFRED. (This prince, among other pious and learned labours, translated the *Pastoral* of GREGORY I, BOETIUS *De Consolatione*, and BEDE's *Ecclesiastical History*).

[x] This excellent prince not only encouraged by his protection and liberality such of his own subjects as made any progress in the liberal arts and sciences, but invited over from foreign countries men of distinguished talents, whom he fixed in a seminary at Oxford, and, of consequence, may be looked upon as the founder of that noble university. JOHANNES SCOTUS ERIGENA, who had been in the service of CHARLES the BALD, and GRIMBALD, a monk of *St. Bertin* in *France*, were the most famous of those learned men who came from abroad; ASSERIUS, WEREFRIÐ, PLEGMUND, DUNWUF, WULFSIG, and the abbot of *St. Neot's*, deserve the first rank among the English *literati*, who adorned the age of ALFRED. See COLLIER's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. book III. p. 165, 166, &c. RAPIN THOYRAS, in the reign of this illustrious monarch.

CENT.
IX.
PART II.Impedi-
ments to
the progress
of learning.

V. But the infelicity of the times rendered the effects of all this zeal and all these projects for the advancement of learning much less considerable than might have otherwise been expected. The protectors and patrons of the learned, were themselves learned; their authority was respectable, and their munificence was boundless; and yet the progress of science towards perfection was but slow, because the interruptions arising from the troubled state of *Europe* were frequent. The discords that arose between LEWIS the MEEK and his sons, which were succeeded by a rupture between the latter, retarded considerably the progress of letters in the empire; and the incursions and victories of the Normans, which afflicted *Europe* during the whole course of this century, were so fatal to the culture of the arts and sciences, that in most of the European provinces, and even in *France*, there remained but a small number who truly deserved the title of learned men [y]. The wretched and incoherent fragments of erudition that yet remained among the clergy, were confined to the monasteries, and to the episcopal schools; but the zeal of the monkish and priestly orders for the improvement of the mind, and the culture of the sciences, diminished in proportion as their revenues increased, so that their indolence and ignorance grew with their possessions.

Examples of
learned men
who flourished
in this
century.

VI. It must, however, be confessed, that several examples of learned men, whose zeal for the sciences was kindled by the encouragement and munificence of CHARLEMAGNE, shone forth with a distinguished lustre through the darkness of this barbarous age. Among these, the first rank is due to RABANUS MAURUS, whose fame was great through all *Germany* and *France*, and to whom the youth resorted, in prodigious numbers, from all parts, to receive his instructions in the liberal arts and sciences. The writers of history, whose works have deservedly preserved their names from oblivion, are EGINHARD, FRECULPH, THEGAN, HAYMO, ANASTASIUS, ADO, and others of less note. FLORUS, WALAFRIDUS STRABO, BERTHARIUS, and RABANUS, excelled in poetry. SMARAGDUS and BERTHARIUS were eminent for their

[y] SERVATI LUPI *Epistolæ* xxxiv. p. 69. CONRINGII *Antiq. Acad.* p. 322. *Histoire Litter. de la France*, tom. iv. p. 251.

skill in grammar and languages, as was also the celebrated RABANUS already mentioned, who acquired a very high degree of reputation by a learned and subtile treatise concerning the causes and the rise of languages. The Greek and Hebrew erudition was cultivated with considerable success by WILLIAM, SERVATUS LUPUS, SCOTUS, and others. EGINHARD, AGOBARD, HINC-MAR, and SERVATUS LUPUS, were much celebrated for the eloquence, which appeared both in their discourses and in their writings [z].

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

VII. The philosophy and logic that were taught in the European schools during this century, scarcely deserved such honourable titles, and were little better than an empty jargon. There were, however, to be found in various places, particularly among the Irish, men of acute parts, and extensive knowledge, who were perfectly well entitled to the appellation of philosophers. The chief of these was JOHANNES SCOTUS ERIGENA [a], a native of *Ireland*, the friend and companion of CHARLES the BALD, who delighted so much in his conversation as to honour him with a place at his table. SCOTUS was endowed with an excellent and truly superior genius, and was considerably versed both in Greek and Latin erudition. He explained to his disciples the philosophy of ARISTOTLE, for which he was singularly well qualified by his thorough knowledge of the Greek language; but as his genius was too bold and aspiring to confine itself to the authority and decisions of the Stagite, he pushed his philosophical researches yet farther, dared to think for himself, and ventured to pursue truth without any other guide than his own reason. We have yet extant of his composition, *Five Books concerning the division of nature*, an intricate and subtile production, in which the causes and principles of all things are in-

Johannes
Scotus
Erigena.

[z] Such as are desirous of a more circumstantial account of these writers, and of their various productions, may consult the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 251 to 271. Or the more ample account given of them by the celebrated LE BEUF, in his *Etat des Sciences en France depuis Charlemagne jusqu'au Roi Robert*, which is published in his *Recueil de divers écrits pour servir d'Eclaircissements à l'Histoire de France*, tom. ii. p. 1. Paris 1738, en 8vo.

[a] ERIGENA signifies properly a native of *Ireland*, as *Erin*, or *Irin*, was the ancient name of that kingdom.

CENT.
IX.
PART II.

vestigated with a considerable degree of sagacity, and in which also the precepts of Christianity are allegorically explained, yet in such a manner as to shew that their ultimate end is the union of the soul with the supreme Being. He was the first, who blended the *scholastic theology* with the *mystic*, and formed them into one system. It has also been imagined, that he was far from rejecting the opinions of those who consider the union of *God and nature*, as similar to the union that subsists between the soul and the body, a notion much the same with that of many ancient philosophers, who looked upon the deity as the soul of the world. But it may, perhaps, be alledged, and not without reason, that what SCOTUS said upon this subject amounted to no more than what the *Realists* [b], as they are called, maintained afterwards, though it must be allowed that he has expressed himself in a very perplexed and obscure manner [c]. This celebrated philosopher formed no particular sect, at least, as far is come to our knowledge; and this will be considered, by those who are acquainted with the spirit of the times he lived in, as a proof that his immense learning was accompanied with meekness and modesty.

[b] The *Realists*, who followed the doctrine of ARISTOTLE with respect to *universal ideas*, were so called in opposition to the *Nominalists*, who embraced the hypothesis of ZENO and the Stoics upon that perplexed and intricate subject. ARISTOTLE held, against PLATO, that previous to, and independent on, matter, there were no *universal ideas* or *essences*, and that the ideas or exemplars which the latter supposed to have existed in the divine mind, and to have been the *models* of all created things, had been eternally impressed upon matter, and were coëval with, and inherent in, their objects. ZENO and his followers, departing both from the Platonic and Aristotelian systems, maintained, that these pretended *universals* had neither *form* nor *essence*, and were no more than mere terms and *nominal* representations of their particular objects. The doctrine of ARISTOTLE prevailed until the eleventh century, when ROSCELINUS embraced the Stoical system, and founded the sect of the *Nominalists*, whose sentiments were propagated with great success by the famous ABELARD. These two sects differed considerably among themselves, and explained, or rather obscured, their respective tenets in a variety of ways.

[c] The work here alluded to was published at Oxford, by Mr. THOMAS GALE, in 1681. The learned HEUMAN has made several extracts from it, and given also an ample and learned account of SCOTUS, in his *Acts of the Philosophers*, written in German, tom. iii. p. 858.

About

About this time lived a certain person named MACARIUS, a native of *Ireland*, who propagated in *France* that enormous error, which was afterwards adopted and professed by AVERROES, that one individual intelligence, one soul, performed the spiritual and rational functions in all the human race. This error was confuted by RATRAM, a famous monk of *Corbey* [d]. Before these writers flourished DUNGAL, a native of *Ireland* also, who left his country, and retired into a French monastery, where he lived during the reigns of CHARLEMAGNE and LEWIS the MEEK, and taught philosophy and astronomy with the greatest reputation [e]. HERIC, a monk of *Auxerre*, made likewise an eminent figure among the learned of this age; he was a man of uncommon sagacity, was endowed with a great and aspiring genius, and is said, in many things, to have anticipated the famous DESCARTES in the manner of investigating truth [f].

CENT
IX.
PART II.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the doctors and ministers of the church and its form of government during this century.

I. THE impiety and licentiousness of the greatest part of the clergy arose, at this time, to an enormous height, and stand, upon record, in the unanimous complaints of the most candid and impartial writers of this century [g]. In the east, tumult, discord, conspiracies and treasons reigned uncontrouled, and all things were carried by violence and force. These abuses appeared in many things, but particularly in the election of the patriarchs of *Constantinople*. The favour of the court was become the only step to that high and important office; and as the patriarch's continuance in that eminent post de-

The corruption of the clergy.

[d] MABILLON, *Præf. ad Sæc. part II. Act. SS. Ord. Benedicti*, § 156. p. 53.

[e] *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 493.

[f] LE BEUF, *Memoires pour l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. ii. p. 481. *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. iv. M. Junii ad d. xxiv. p. 829. & ad d. xxxi. Jul. p. 249. For this philosopher has obtained a place among the faintly order.

[g] See AGOBARDUS, *De privilegiis et jure Sacerdotii*, § 13. p. 137. tom. i. Opp. ed. Baluzii.

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

pendent upon such an uncertain and precarious foundation, nothing was more usual, than to see a prelate pulled down from his episcopal throne by an imperial decree. In the western provinces, the bishops were become voluptuous and effeminate to a very high degree. They passed their lives amidst the splendor of courts, and the pleasures of a luxurious indolence, which corrupted their taste, extinguished their zeal, and rendered them incapable of performing the solemn duties of their function [b]; while the inferior clergy were sunk in licentiousness, minded nothing but sensual gratifications, and infected, with the most heinous vices, the flock, whom it was the very business of their ministry to preserve, or to deliver, from the contagion of iniquity. Besides, the ignorance of the sacred order was, in many places, so deplorable, that few of them could either read or write; and still fewer were capable of expressing their wretched notions with any degree of method or perspicuity. Hence it happened, that when letters were to be penned, or any matter of consequence was to be committed to writing, they had commonly recourse to some one person who was supposed to be endowed with superior abilities, as appears in the case of SERVATUS LUPUS [i].

The causes
of this corruption.

II. Many circumstances concurred, particularly in the European nations, to produce and augment this corruption and licentiousness, so shameful in an order of men, who were set apart to exhibit examples of piety to the rest of the world. Among these we may reckon, as the chief sources of the evil under consideration, the calamities of the times, even the bloody and perpetual wars that were carried on between LEWIS the MEEK, and his family, the incursions and conquests of the barbarous nations, the gross and incredible ignorance of the nobility, and the affluence and riches that flowed in upon the churches and religious seminaries from all quarters. Ma-

[b] The reader will be convinced of this by consulting AGO-BARD, *passim*, and by looking over the laws enacted in the Latin councils for restraining the disorders of the clergy. See also SERVATUS LUPUS, *Epist.* xxxv. p. 73. 281. and STEPH. BALUZ. in *Adnot.* p. 378.

[i] See the works of SERVATUS LUPUS, *Epist.* xcvi. xcix. p. 126. 142. 142. 148. as also his *Life*. See also RODOLPHI Bituricensis *Capitula ad clerum suum*, in BALUZII *Miscellaneis*, tom. vi. p. 139, 148.

ny other causes also contributed to dishonour the church, by introducing into it a corrupt ministry. A nobleman, who, through want of talents, activity, or courage, was rendered incapable of appearing with dignity in the cabinet, or with honour in the field, immediately turned his views towards the church, aimed at a distinguished place among its chiefs and rulers, and became, in consequence, a contagious example of stupidity and vice to the inferior clergy [k]. The patrons of churches, in whom resided the right of election, unwilling to submit their disorderly conduct to the keen censure of zealous and upright pastors, industriously looked for the most abject, ignorant, and worthless ecclesiastics, to whom they committed the cure of souls [l]. But one of the circumstances, which contributed in a particular manner to render, at least, the higher clergy wicked and depraved, and to take off their minds from the duties of their station, was the obligation they were under of performing certain services to their sovereigns, in consequence of the possessions they derived from the royal bounty. The bishops and heads of monasteries held many lands and castles by a feudal tenure; and being thereby bound to furnish their princes with a certain number of soldiers in time of war, were obliged also to take the field themselves at the head of these troops [m], and thus to act in a sphere that was utterly inconsistent with the nature and duties of their sacred character. Besides all this, it often happened, that rapacious princes, in order to satisfy the craving wants of their soldiers and domesticks, boldly invaded the possessions of the church, which they distributed among their armies; in consequence of which the priests and monks, in order to avoid perishing through hunger, abandoned themselves to the practice of violence, fraud, and all sorts of crimes, which

[k] HINC MARUS, *Oper. Posterior. contra Godeschalcum*, cap. xxxvi. tom. i. Opp. p. 318. SERVATUS LUPUS, *Epist.* lxxix. p. 120.

[l] AGOBARDUS, *De privilegiis et jure Sacerdotum*, cap. xi. p. 341. tom. i. Opp.

[m] STEPH. BALUZII *Appendix Actor. ad Servatum*, p. 508. MURATORI *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 446. MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 587. FRESNE, *ad Joinvillii Hist. Ludovici S.* p. 75, 76.

C E N T. they looked upon as the only means, they had left, of procuring themselves a subsistence [n].

IX.
PART II.

The Roman
pontifs.

III. The Roman pontifs were raised to that high dignity by the suffrages of the sacerdotal order, accompanied with the voice of the people; but, after their election, the approbation of the emperor was necessary in order to their consecration [o]. There is indeed, yet extant, an edict, supposed to have been published in the year 817, by LEWIS the MEEK, in which he abolishes this imperial right, and grants to the Romans, not only the power of electing their pontif, but also the privilege of installing and consecrating him when elected, without waiting for the consent of the emperor [p]. But this grant will deceive none, who inquire into this matter with any degree of attention and diligence, since several learned men have proved it spurious by the most irresistible arguments [q]. It must, however, be confessed, that after the time of CHARLES the BALD, a new scene of things arose; and the important change abovementioned was really introduced. That prince having obtained the imperial dignity by the good offices of the bishop of *Rome*, returned this eminent service by delivering the succeeding pontifs from the obligation of waiting for the consent of the emperors, in order to their being installed in their office. And thus we find, that from the time of EUGENIUS III, who was raised to the pontificate A. D. 884, the election of the bishops of *Rome* was carried on without the least re-

[n] AGOBARDUS, *De dispens. rerum Ecclesiast.* § 4. p. 270. tom. i. Opp. FLODOARDUS, *Histor. Eccles. Rhemensis*, lib. iii. cap. ix. SERVATUS LUPUS, *Epist.* xlv. p. 87. 437, &c. MURATORI, tom. vi. *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, p. 302. LUD. THOMASIN, *Disciplina Ecclesiæ vet. et novæ circa beneficia*, part II. lib. iii. cap. xi. These corrupt measures prevailed also among the Greeks and Lombards, as may be seen in the *Oriens Christianus* of LEQUIEN, tom. i. p. 142.

[o] See DE BÜNAU, *Histor. Imper. German.* tom. iii. p. 28. 32.

[p] HARDUINI *Concilia*, tom. iv. p. 1236. LE COINTE, *Annales Eccles. Francor.* tom. vii. ad A. 817. § 6. BALUZII *Capitular. Regum Francor.* tom. i. p. 591.

[q] MURATORI *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclesiast.* p. 54. and *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iii. p. 29, 30. in which that learned man conjectures, that this edict was forged in the eleventh century. BÜNAU, *Hist. Imper. German.* tom. iii. p. 34. The partisans, however, of the papal authority, such as FONTANINI and others, plead strenuously, though ineffectually, for the authenticity of the edict in question.

gard

gard to law, order, or even decency, and was generally attended with civil tumults and dissensions, until the reign of OTHO the GREAT, who put a stop to these disorderly proceedings.

IV. Among the prelates that were raised to the pontificate, in this century, there were very few, who distinguished themselves by their learning, prudence, and virtue, or who were at all careful about acquiring those particular qualities that are essential to the character of a Christian bishop. On the contrary, the greatest part of them are only known by the flagitious actions that have transmitted their names with infamy to our times; and they all, in general, seem to have vied with each other in their ambitious efforts to extend their authority, and render their dominion unlimited and universal. It is here that we may place, with propriety, an event, which is said to have interrupted the much-vaunted succession of regular bishops, in the see of *Rome*, from the first foundation of that church to the present times. Between the pontificate of LEO IV, who died in the year 855, and that of BENEDICT III, a certain woman, who had the art to disguise her sex for a considerable time, is said, by learning, genius, and dexterity, to have made good her way to the papal chair, and to have governed the church with the title and dignity of pontif about two years. This extraordinary person is yet known by the title of POPE JOAN. During the five succeeding centuries, this event was generally believed, and a vast number of writers bore testimony to its truth; nor, before the Reformation undertaken by LUTHER, was it considered by any, either as incredible in itself, or as ignominious to the church [r]. But in the last century, the elevation, and indeed the existence, of this female pontif, became the subject of a keen and learned controversy; and several men of distinguished abilities both among the Roman catholics and protestants, employed all the force of their genius and erudition to destroy the credit of this story, by invalidating, on the one hand, the weight of the testimonies on which it is found-

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

The frauds
practised by
the Roman
pontifs to
increase
their power.

[r] The arguments of those who maintain the truth of this extraordinary event are collected in one striking point of view, with great learning and industry, by FRED. SPANHEIM, in his *Exercitatio de Papa Femina*, tom. ii. Opp. p. 577. This Dissertation was translated into French by the celebrated LENFANT, who digested it into a better method, and enriched it with several additions.

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

ed, and by shewing on the other, that it was inconsistent with the most accurate chronological computations [s]. Between the contending parties, some of the wisest and most learned writers have judiciously steered a middle course: they grant that many fictitious and fabulous circumstances have been interwoven with this story; but they deny that it is entirely destitute of all foundation, or, that the controversy is yet ended, in a satisfactory manner, in favour of those who dispute its truth. And, indeed, upon a deliberate and impartial view of this whole matter, it will appear more than probable, that some unusual event must have happened at *Rome*, from which this story derived its origin; because it is not at all credible, from any principles of moral evidence, that an event should be universally believed and related in the same manner by a multitude of historians, during five centuries immediately succeeding its supposed date, if that event was absolutely destitute of all foundation. But what it was that gave rise to this story, is yet to be discovered, and is likely to remain so [t].

[s] The arguments of those who reject the story of POPE JOAN as a fable, have been collected by DAVID BLONDEL, and after him with still more art and erudition by BAYLE, in the third volume of his *Dictionary*, at the article PAFESSE. Add to this JO. GEORG, ECCARD, *Histor. Franciæ Oriental.* tom. ii. lib. xxx. § 119. p. 436, which author has adopted and appropriated the sentiments of the great LEIBNITZ, upon the matter in question. See also LEQUIEN's *Oriens Christian.* tom. iii. p. 777. and HEUMAN's *Sylloge Dissert. Sacrar.* tom. i. part II. p. 352. The very learned JO. CHRISTOPH. WAGENSELIUS has given a just and accurate view of the arguments on both sides, which may be seen in the *Amœnitates Litterariæ* of SCHELHORNII, part i. p. 146. and the same has been done by BASNAGE, in his *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 408. A list of the other writers, who have employed their labours upon this intricate question, may be seen in CASP. SACITTARIUS's *Introd. in Hist. Eccles.* tom. i. cap. xxv. p. 676. and in the *Biblioth. Bremens.* tom. viii. part V. p. 935.

[t] Such is the opinion of PAUL SARPI, in his *Lettere Italiane*, Lett. lxxxii. p. 452; of LENFANT, *Biblioth. Germanique*, tom. x. p. 27; of THEOD. HASÆUS, *Biblioth. Bremens.* tom. viii. part V. p. 935; and of the celebrated PFAFF *Instit. Histor. Eccles.* p. 402; to whom we might add WERNSDORFF, BOECLER, HOLBERG, and many others, were this enumeration necessary. Without assuming the character of a judge in this intricate controversy, concerning which so many false decisions have been pronounced, I shall only take the liberty to observe that the matter in debate is as yet dubious, and has not on either side been represented in such a light as to bring conviction.

V, The

V. The enormous vices, that must have covered so many pontiffs with infamy in the judgment of the wise, formed not the least obstacle to their ambition in these miserable times, nor hindered them from extending their influence, and augmenting their authority, both in church and state. It does not, indeed, appear from any authentic records, that their possessions augmented in proportion to the progress of their authority, nor that any new grants of land were added to what they had already obtained from the liberality of the kings of *France*. The donations, which LEWIS the MEEK is reported to have made to them, are mere inventions, equally destitute of truth and probability [*u*]; and nothing is more groundless than the accounts of those writers who affirm, that CHARLES the BALD divested himself, in the year 875, of his right to the city of *Rome*, and its territory, in favour of the pontiffs, whom he, at the same time, enriched with a variety of noble and costly presents, in return for the good services of JOHN VIII, by whose succours he was raised to the empire. But be that as it may, it is certain, that the authority and affluence of the bishops of *Rome* increased greatly from the time of LEWIS the MEEK, but more especially from the accession of CHARLES the BALD to the imperial throne, as all the historical records of that period abundantly testify [*w*].

VI. After the death of LEWIS II, a fierce and dreadful war broke out between the posterity of CHARLEMAGNE, among which there were several competitors for the empire. This furnished the Italian princes, and the Roman pontif JOHN VIII, with a favourable opportunity of assuming to themselves the right of nominating to the imperial throne, and of excluding from all part in this election the nations who had formerly the right of suffrage; and if the opportunity was favorable, it was seized with avidity, and improved with the utmost dexterity and zeal. Their favour and interest was earnestly solicited by CHARLES the BALD, whose entreaties were

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

Their zealous attachment to the kings of *France*, by whom they are favoured.

They gain by the troubles that arise in the empire.

[*u*] See above, § 3.

[*w*] BUNAU, *Histor. Imperii Rom. German.* tom. iii. p. 482.
JO. GEORGE ECCARD, *Histor. Franciæ Orient.* tom. ii. lib. xxxi. p. 606.

rendered

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

rendered effectual by rich presents, prodigious sums of money, and most pompous promises, in consequence of which he was proclaimed, A. D. 876, by the pontif JOHN VIII, and by the Italian princes assembled at *Pavia*, king of *Italy* and emperor of the Romans, CARLOMAN and CHARLES the GROSS, who succeeded him in the kingdom of *Italy*, and in the Roman empire, were also elected by the Roman pontif, and the Italian princes. After the reigns of these princes the empire was torn in pieces; the most deplorable tumults and commotions arose in *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*, which were governed, or rather subdued and usurped, by various chiefs, and, in this confused scene of things, the highest bidder was, by the succour of the greedy pontifs, generally raised to the government of *Italy*, and to the imperial throne [x].

The emperors divested of their ecclesiastical authority, and the power of the councils and of the bishops diminished.

VII. Thus the power and influence of the pontifs, in civil affairs, arose in a short time to an enormous height through the favour and protection of the princes, in whose cause they had employed the influence, which superstition had given them over the minds of the people. The increase of their authority, in religious matters, was not less rapid, nor less considerable, and it arose from the same causes. The wisest and most impartial among the Roman Catholic writers not only acknowledge, but are even at pains to demonstrate, that, from the time of LEWIS the MEEK, the ancient rules of ecclesiastical government were gradually changed in *Europe* by the counsels and instigation of the court of *Rome*, and new laws substituted in their place. The European princes suffered themselves to be divested of the supreme authority in religious matters, which they had derived from CHARLEMAGNE; the power of the bishops was greatly diminished, and even the authority of both provincial and general councils began to decline. The Roman pontifs, elated with their overgrown prosperity, and become arrogant, beyond measure, by the daily accessions that were made to their authority, were eagerly

[x] This matter is amply illustrated by SIGONIUS, in his famous book *De Regno Italiae*, and by the other writers of German and Italian history.

bent upon persuading all, and had, indeed, the good fortune to persuade many, that the bishop of *Rome* was constituted and appointed, by JESUS CHRIST, supreme legislator and judge of the church universal; and that, therefore, the bishops derived all their authority from the Roman pontif, nor could the councils determine any thing without his permission and consent [y]. This opinion, which was inculcated by the pontifs with the utmost zeal and ardour, was opposed by such as were acquainted with the ancient ecclesiastical constitutions, and the government of the church in the earlier ages; but it was opposed in vain.

VIII. In order to gain credit to this new ecclesiastical system, so different from the ancient rules of church government, and to support the haughty pretensions of the pontifs to supremacy and independence, it was necessary to produce the authority of ancient deeds, to stop the mouths of such as were disposed to set bounds to their usurpations. The bishops of *Rome* were aware of this, and as those means were looked upon as the most lawful that tended best to the accomplishment of their purposes, they employed some of their most ingenious and zealous partisans in forging conventions, acts of councils, epistles, and such like records, by which it might appear, that, in the first ages of the church, the Roman pontifs were clothed with the same spiritual majesty and supreme authority which they now assumed [z]. Among

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

Forged memorials and acts procured by the pontifs, to establish their supremacy.

[y] See the excellent work of an anonymous and unknown author; who signs himself D. B. and whose book is intitled, *Histoire du Droit Ecclesiastique public François*, published at first at *London*, in two volumes 8vo, in the year 1737, and lately republished in a larger and more splendid edition. The author of this performance shews, in a judicious and concise manner, the various steps by which the papal authority arose to such a monstrous height. His account of the ninth century may be seen in the first volume of his work, at the 160th page.

[z] There is just reason to imagine, that these *Decretals*, and various other acts, such as the grants of CHARLEMAGNE and LEWIS the MEEK, were forged with the knowledge and consent of the Roman pontifs; since it is utterly incredible, that these pontifs should, for many ages, have constantly appealed, in support of their pretended rights and privileges, to acts and records that were only the fictions of private persons, and should, with such weak arms, have stood out against kings, princes, councils, these

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

Decretals.

these fictitious supports of the papal dignity, the famous *decretal epistles*, as they are called, said to have been written by the pontiffs of the primitive times, deserve chiefly to be stigmatized. They were the production of an obscure writer, who fraudulently prefixed to them the name of ISIDORE, bishop of *Seville* [a], to make the world believe they had been collected by that illustrious and learned prelate. Some of them had appeared in the eighth century [b], but they were now entirely drawn from their obscurity, and produced, with an air of ostentation and triumph, to demonstrate the supremacy of the Roman pontiffs [c]. The decisions of a certain Roman council, which is said to have been held during the pontificate of SILVESTER, were likewise alledged in behalf of the same cause; but this council had never been so much as heard of before the present century, and the accounts now given of it proceeded from the same source

and bishops, who were unwilling to receive their yoke. Acts of a private nature would have been useless here, and public deeds were necessary to accomplish the views of papal ambition. Such forgeries were, in this century, esteemed lawful, on account of their supposed tendency to promote the glory of God, and to advance the prosperity of the church: and, therefore, it is not surprizing, that the good pontiffs should feel no remorse in imposing upon the world frauds and forgeries, that were designed to enrich the patrimony of St. PETER, and to aggrandize his successors in the apostolic see.

[a] It is certain, that the forger of the *decretals* was extremely desirous of persuading the world, that they were collected by ISIDORE, the celebrated bishop of *Seville*, who lived in the sixth century. See FABRICII *Biblioth. Latin. mediæ ævi*, tom. v. p. 561. It was a custom among the bishops to add, from a principle of humility, the epithet *Peccator*, i. e. *Sinner*, to their titles; and, accordingly, the forger of the *Decretals* has added the word *Peccator* after the name of ISIDORE; but this some ignorant transcribers have absurdly changed into the word *Mercator*; and hence it happens, that one ISIDORUS MERCATOR passes for the fraudulent collector, or forger of the *decretals*.

[b] See DON CALMET, *Histoire de Lorraine*, tom. i. p. 528. B. JUST. HEN. BÖHMER. *Præf. ad novam Edit. Juris Canon.* tom. i. p. x. xix. *Not.*

[c] Beside the authors of the *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses* and other writers, the learned BLONDEL has demonstrated, in an ample and satisfactory manner, the spuriouſness of the *decretals*, in his *Pseudo Isidorus et Turrianus vapulantes*; and in our time the cheat is acknowledged even by the Roman Catholics, at least by such of them as are possessed of any tolerable degree of judgment and with

with the *decretals*, and were equally authentic. Be that as it may, the decrees of this pretended council contributed much to enrich and aggrandize the Roman pontiffs, and exalt them above all human authority and jurisdiction [d].

CENT.

IX.

PART II.

IX. There were not, however, wanting among the Latin bishops men of prudence and sagacity, who saw through these impious frauds, and perceived the chains that were forging both for them and for the church. The French bishops distinguished themselves, in a particular and glorious manner, by the zeal and vehemence with which they opposed the spurious *decretals*, and other like fictitious monuments and records, and protested against their being received among the laws of the church. But the obstinacy of the pontiffs, and particularly of NICOLAS I, conquered this opposition, and reduced it to silence. And as the empire, in the periods that succeeded this contest, fell back into the grossest ignorance and darkness, there scarcely remained any who were capable of detecting these odious impostures, or disposed to support the expiring liberty of the church. The history of the following ages shews, in a multitude of deplorable examples, the disorders and calamities that sprung from the ambition of the aspiring pontiffs; it represents these despotic lords of the church, labouring by the aid of their impious frauds to overturn its ancient government, to undermine the authority of its bishops, to engross its riches and revenues into their own hands; nay, what is still more horrible, it represents them aiming perfidious blows at the thrones of princes, and endeavouring to lessen their power, and to set bounds to their dominion. All this is unanimously acknowledged by such as have looked, with attention and impartiality, into the history of the times of which we now write, and is ingenuously

The success
of these
frauds.

impartiality. See BUDDEUS's *Isagoge in Theologiam*, tom. ii. p. 762; as also PETR. COUSTANTIUS's *Prolegom. ad Epistolas Pontificum*, tom. i. p. 130; and a *Dissertation* of FLEURY, prefixed to the sixteenth volume of his *Ecclesiastical History*.

[d] See JO. LAUNOIUS, *De cura Ecclesiæ erga pauperes et miserios*, cap. i. Observat. i. p. 576. tom. ii. part II. Opp.

con-

CENT.
IX.
PART II.

The monastic life in high repute.

confessed by men of learning and probity, that are well affected to the Romish church and its sovereign pontif [e].

X. The monastic life was now universally in the highest esteem, and nothing could equal the veneration that was paid to such as devoted themselves to the sacred gloom and indolence of a convent. The Greeks and Orientals had been long accustomed to regard the monastic orders and discipline with the greatest admiration; but it was only since the beginning of the last century, that this holy passion was indulged among the Latins to such an extravagant length. In the present age it went beyond all bounds: kings, dukes, and counts, forgot their true dignity, even the fulfilling with zeal the duties of their high stations, and affected that contempt of the world and its grandeur, which they took for magnanimity, though it was really nothing else but the result of a narrow and superstitious spirit. They abandoned their thrones, their honours, and their treasures, and shut themselves up in monasteries with a view of devoting themselves entirely to God. Several examples of this fanatical extravagance were exhibited in *Italy, France, Germany, and Spain*, both in this and the preceding century. And if the allurements of worldly pleasures and honours had too much power over the minds of many to permit their separating themselves from human society, during their lives, such endeavoured to make amends for this in their last hours; for when they perceived death approaching, they demanded the monastic habit, and actually put it on before their departure, that they might be regarded as of the fraternity, and be of consequence entitled to the fervent prayers and other spiritual succours of their ghostly brethren.

Monks and abbots employed in civil affairs, and called to the courts of princes.

But nothing affords such a striking and remarkable proof of the excessive and fanatical veneration that was paid to the Monastic order, as the treatment they received from several kings and emperors, who drew numbers of monks and abbots from their cloisters, and placed them in stations entirely foreign to their vows and their charac-

[e] See the abovementioned author's treatise, entitled, *Regia Potestas in Causis Matrimonial.* tom. i. part II. Opp. p. 764; as also PETR. COUSTANTIUS, *Præf. ad Epist. Romanor. Pontif.* tom. i. p. 127.

ter, even amidst the splendor of a court, and at the head of affairs. The transition, indeed, was violent from the obscurity of a convent and the study of a liturgy, to sit at the helm of an empire, and manage the political interests of nations. But such was the case, and pious princes alledged as a reason for this singular choice, that the government of a state could never be better placed than in the hands of such holy men, who had subdued all irregular appetites and passions, and were so divested of the lust of pleasure and ambition, as to be incapable of any unworthy designs, any low, sordid, or selfish views. Hence we find in the history of these times frequent examples of monks and abbots performing the functions of ambassadors, envoys, and ministers of state, and displaying their talents with various success in these high and eminent stations.

XI. The morals, however, of the monks were far from being so pure as to justify the reason alledged above for their promotion. Their patrons and protectors, who loaded them with honours and preferment, were sensible of the irregular and licentious lives that many of them led, and used their utmost efforts to correct their vices, and to reform their manners. LEWIS the MEEK distinguished his zeal in the execution of this virtuous and noble design; and, to render it more effectual, he employed the pious labours of BENEDICT, abbot of *Aniane*, in reforming the monasteries first in *Aquitaine*, and afterwards throughout the whole kingdom of *France*, and in restoring, by new and salutary laws, the monastic discipline which was absolutely neglected and fallen into decay. This worthy ecclesiastic presided in the year 817, in the council of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where several wise measures were taken for removing the disorders that reigned in the cloisters; and in consequence of the unlimited authority, he had received from the emperor, he subjected all the monks, without exception, to the rule of the famous BENEDICT abbot of *Mount Cassin*, annulled that variety of rites and customs that had obtained in the different monasteries, prescribed to them all one uniform method of living, and thus united, as it were, into one general body or society, the various orders which had

A reformation of the monastic order attempted.

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T H.

Canons and
canonesses.

hitherto been connected by no common bond [f]. This admirable discipline, which acquired to BENEDICT of *Aniane* the highest reputation, and made him be revered as the second father of the western monks, flourished during a certain time, but afterwards declined through various causes, until the conclusion of this century, when, under the calamities that oppressed both the church and the empire, it almost entirely disappeared.

XII. The same emperor, who had appeared with such zeal both in protecting and reforming the monks, gave also distinguished marks of his favour to the order of *canons*, which CHRODEGANGUS had introduced in several places during the last century. He distributed them through all the provinces of the empire, and instituted also an order of *canonesses*, which was the first female convent known in the Christian world [g]. For each of these orders the zealous emperor had a rule drawn up A. D. 817, in the council of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, which he substituted in the place of that which had been appointed by CHRODEGANGUS, and this new rule was observed in the most of the monasteries and convents of the canons and canonesses in the west until the XII century, notwithstanding that it was disapproved of by the court of *Rome* [h]. The author of the rule that was appointed for the *canons* was, undoubtedly, AMALARIUS, a presbyter of *Metz*; but it is not so certain whether that

[f] JO. MABILLON, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict. Sac. iv. part. I. Pref. p. xxvii. and Pref. ad Sac. v. p. xxv.* EJUSDEM, *Annales Ordin. S. Benedict.* tom. ii. p. 430. CALMET, *Hist. de Lorraine*, tom. i. p. 596. For a particular account of BENEDICT of *Aniane*, and his illustrious virtues, see the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. Febr. p. 606 : and the *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 447.

[g] See MABILLON, *Annal. Ordin. S. Benedicti*, tom. ii. p. 428.

[h] This rule was condemned in a council held at *Rome*, A. D. 1059, under the pontif NICHOLAS II. The pretexts used by the pontif and the assembled prelates, to justify their disapprobation of this rule, were, that it permitted the canons to enjoy the possessions they had before their vows, and allowed to each of them too large a portion of bread and wine; but the true reason was, that this order had been instituted by an emperor without either the consent, or knowledge, of the Roman pontif. For an account of the rule and discipline of these *canons*, see FLEURY's *Eccles. Hist.* tom. x. p. 163, 164, &c. *Brussels* edition in 12mo.

which

which was drawn up for the *canonesses* was composed by the same hand [i]. Be that as it may, the *canonical* order grew into high repute; and from this time a great number of convents were erected for them through all the western provinces, and were richly endowed by the liberality of pious and opulent Christians. But this institution degenerated in a short time, like all others, from its primitive purity, and ceased to answer the laudable intention and design of its worthy founders [k].

XIII. Of the theological writers that flourished among the Greeks, the following are the most remarkable :

The principal Greek writers.

PHOTIUS, patriarch of *Constantinople*, a man of most profound and universal erudition, whose *Bibliotheca* [l], *Epistles*, and other writings, are yet valuable on many accounts.

NICEPHORUS, also patriarch of the abovementioned city, who, among other productions, published a warm defence of the worship of images against the enemies of that idolatrous service [m].

THEODORUS STUDITES, who acquired a name, chiefly by his warm opposition to the *Iconoclasts*, and by the zeal with which he wrote in favour of image-worship [n].

The same cause has principally contributed to trans-

[i] LUD. THOMASSIN. *Disciplin. Eccles. Vet. et Novæ*, part I. lib. iii. cap. xlii, xliii. MURATORI *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 185. 540. No accounts of the *Canons* are less worthy of credit, than those that are given by writers, who have been themselves members of that order, such as RAYMOND CHAPPONEL's *Histoire des Chanoines*, published at Paris in 8vo in the year 1699; for these writers, from fond prejudices in favour of their institution, and an ambitious desire of enhancing its merit and rendering it respectable, derive the origin of *canonical order* from CHRIST and his apostles, or trace it up, at least, to the first ages of the Christian church.

[k] CALMET, *Hist. de Lorraine*, tom. i. p. 591. *Hist. Litteraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 536.

[l] See CAMUSAT, *Histoire des Journaux*, tom. i. p. 87.

[m] *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. *Martii ad d. xiii.* p. 293. OUDINUS, *Scriptor. Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 2.

[n] THEODORE STUDITES was one of the most voluminous writers of this century, and would certainly have been known as a man of genius and learning in after ages, though the controversy concerning images had never existed. There are of his writings, yet extant, 265 letters, several treatises against the *Iconoclasts*, 124 epigrams in Iambics, and a large manuscript, which contains a course of catechetical instruction concerning the duties of the monastic life.

CENT.
IX;
PART II.

mit to after ages the names of THEODORUS GRAPTUS, METHODIUS, who obtained the title of *Confessor* for his adherence to image-worship in the very face of persecution, THEODORUS ABUCARA [o], PETRUS SICULUS, NICETAS DAVID, and others, who would probably have been long since buried in oblivion, had not the various contests between the Greek and Latin churches, and the divisions of the former among themselves upon the question concerning images, excited the vehemence of these inconsiderable writers, and furnished them with an occasion of making some noise in the world.

MOSES BARCEPHA, a Syrian bishop, surpassed by far all whom we have now been mentioning, and deserved the shining reputation, which he has obtained in the republic of letters, as what we have yet extant of his works discover several marks of true genius, and an uncommon acquaintance with the art of writing [p].

Latin writers.

XIV. RABANUS MAURUS, archbishop of *Mentz*, is deservedly placed at the head of the Latin writers of this age; the force of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, and the multitude of productions that flowed from his pen, entitle him to this distinguished rank, and render improper all comparison between him his cotemporaries. He may be called the great light of *Germany* and *France*, since it was from the prodigious fund of knowledge he possessed, that these nations derived principally their religious instruction. His writings were every where in the hands of the learned [q], and were held in such veneration, that, during four centuries, the most eminent of the Latin divines appealed to them as authority in religious matters, and adopted almost universally the sentiments they contained. After this illustrious prelate, the writers that are most worthy of mention are,

AGOBARD, archbishop of *Lyons*, a man of wisdom and prudence, and far from being destitute of literary merit; but whose reputation has deservedly suffered by his justifi-

[o] See BAYLE's *Dictionary*, vol. i. at the article ABUCARA.

[p] JOS. SIM. ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 327.

[q] See, for a particular account of the life and writings of RABANUS MAURUS, the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. v. p. 151; as also the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. Febr. p. 500.

ying and even fomenting the rebellion of LOTHAIRE and PEPIN against LEWIS the MEEK, their father and their sovereign [r].

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

HILDUIN, abbot of *St. Dennis*, who acquired no small reputation by a work entitled, *Areopagitica* [s].

EGINHARD, abbot of *Selingestat*, the celebrated author of the *Life of Charlemagne*, remarkable for the beauty of his diction, the perspicuity and elegance of his style, and a variety of other literary accomplishments [t].

CLAUDIUS, bishop of *Turin*, whose *Exposition* of several books of scripture [u], as also his *Chronology* gained him an eminent and lasting reputation [w].

FRECULF, bishop of *Lysieux*, whose *Chronicle*, which is no more than a heavy compilation, is yet extant.

SERVATUS LUPUS, of whose composition we have several epistles and treatises; and who, though a copious and subtle writer, is yet defective in point of elegance and erudition [x].

DREPANIUS FLORUS, who left behind him several *Poems*, *An exposition of certain books of scripture*, and other performances less worthy of attention [y].

CHRISTIAN DRUTHMAR, the author of *A commentary upon St. Matthew's Gospel* [z].

[r] See COLONIA, *Hist. Litter. de la ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 93. *General Dictionary*, at the article AGOBARD. *Hist. Litteraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 567. [AGOBARD opposed with great zeal both the worship and the use of images, in his famous book *De picturis et imaginibus*, a work which has greatly embarrassed the doctors of the Romish church.]

[s] *Hist. Litteraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 607.

[t] *Hist. Litteraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 550. See also the *Life of Charlemagne*, of which the best of fourteen editions is that published by SCHMINKIUS, at *Utrecht*, in the year 1711.

[(u) This prelate, who was famous for his knowledge of the holy scriptures, composed 111 books of commentaries upon *Genesis*, iv upon *Exodus*, and several upon *Leviticus*. He wrote also a commentary upon the *Gospel of St. Matthew*, in which there are many excellent things, and an exposition of all the *Epistles of St. Paul*. His commentary on the *Epistle to the Galatians* is printed, but all the rest are in manuscript.]

[w] See SIMON, *Critique de la Biblioth. Eccles. de M. DU PIN*, tom. i. p. 284.

[x] *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, tom. v. p. 255.

[y] COLONIA, *Histoire Litter. de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 135. *Hist. Litter. de la France*, tom. v. p. 213.

[z] *Hist. Litter. de la France*, tom. v. p. 84.

CENT.
IX.
PART II.

GODESCHALC, a monk of Orbais, who rendered his name immortal by the controversy which he set on foot concerning *Predestination and Free Grace*.

PASCHASIUS RADBERT [a], a name famous in the contests concerning *The real presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist*; and who, to pass in silence his other writings, composed a book upon this very subject, which furnished abundant matter of dispute throughout this century.

BERTRAM, or RATRAMN, a monk of Corby, who deserves the first rank among the writers that refuted the doctrine of RADBERT; and whose book concerning *The sacrament of the Lord's supper*, which was composed by the order of CHARLES the BALD, gave also occasion to many contests among learned divines [b].

HAYMO, bishop of Halberstadt, the laborious author of several treatises upon various subjects, and who is more to be esteemed for his industry and diligence, than for his genius and learning [c].

WALAFRIDUS STRABO, who acquired no mean reputation by his *Poems*, his *Lives of the saints*, and his *Explications* of many of the more difficult passages of scripture [d].

HINCMAR, archbishop of Rheims, a man of an imperious and turbulent spirit; but who deserves, notwithstanding, a distinguished place among the Latin writers of this century, since his works discover an aspiring genius, and an ardent zeal in the pursuit of truth, and tend, moreover, in a singular manner, to throw light both upon the civil and ecclesiastical history of the age in which he lived [e].

JOHANNES SCOTUS ERIGENA, the friend and companion of CHARLES the BALD, an eminent philosopher,

[a] For an account of RADBERT, see the *Histoire Litter. de la France*, tom. v. p. 287.

[b] We shall have occasion to speak more particularly of BERTRAMN, and his book, in the following chapter.

[c] It is proper to observe, that a great part of the writings that are attributed to HAYMO, bishop of Halberstadt, were composed by REMI, or REMIGIUS, of Auxerre. See CASIMIR OUDINUS, *Comment. de Scriptor. Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 330. *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, tom. v. p. III. tom. vi. p. 106. LE BEUF, *Recueil de Diss. sur l'Histoire de la France*, tom. i. p. 278.

[d] See the *Histoire Litter. de la France*, tom. v. p. 544.

[e] *Ibid.* tom. v. p. 416.

and a learned divine, whose erudition was accompanied with uncommon marks of sagacity and genius, and whose various performances, as well as his translations from the Greek, gained him a shining and lasting reputation [f].

It is sufficient barely to name REMIGIUS BERTHARIUS, ADO, AIMOIN HERIC, REGINO, abbot of *Prum*, and others, of whom the most common writers of ecclesiastical history give ample accounts.

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the doctrine of the Christian church in this century.

I. **T**HE zeal of CHARLEMAGNE for the interests of Christianity, and his liberality to the learned, encouraged many to apply themselves diligently to the study of the scriptures, and to the pursuit of religious truth; and as long as this eminent set of divines remained, the western provinces were happily preserved from many errors, and from a variety of superstitious practices. Thus we find among the writers of this age several men of eminent talents, whose productions shew that the lustre of true erudition and theology was not, as yet, totally eclipsed. But these illustrious luminaries of the church disappeared one after the other, and barbarism and ignorance, encouraged by their departure, resumed their ancient seats, and brought, in their train, a prodigious multitude of devout follies, odious superstitions, and abominable errors. Nor did any encourage and propagate with more zeal and ardor these superstitious innovations, than the sacerdotal orders, the spiritual guides of a deluded people. And if we enquire how it came to pass, that the clergy were so zealous in such an inglorious cause, we shall find that this zeal was, in some, the effect of ignorance, and, in others, the fruit of avarice and ambition; since much was to be gained both in point of authority and opulence from the progress of superstition. Christianity among the

The miserable state of Christianity.

[f] See HERM. CONRINGIUS, *Antiq. Academica*, p. 309. *Hist. Littér. de la France*, tom. v. p. 416.

C E N T. IX. Greeks and Orientals was almost in the same declining and deplorable state ; though there arose, from time to time, in the eastern provinces, men of superior abilities, who endeavoured to support the cause of true religion, and to raise it from the pressures under which it laboured.

The causes
to which it
was owing.

II. The causes of this unhappy revolution, that covered the Christian church with superstition and darkness, will appear evident to such as are at all acquainted with the history of these times. The Oriental doctors, miserably divided among themselves, and involved in the bitterest contentions and quarrels with the western churches, lost all notion of the true spirit and genius of Christianity, and, corrupted and biased by the prejudices and passions, that are generally excited and nourished by ill-managed controversy, became incapable of promoting the true and essential interests of religion. Intent also upon defending the excellence and divine authority of their doctrine and discipline against the Latin doctors, and in maintaining among themselves the worship of images which began to be warmly opposed, they advanced many things in the course of these disputes, that were highly erroneous, and as one error follows another, their number increased from day to day. The savage and unnatural lives of the monks and hermits, whose number was prodigious, and whose authority was considerable, who haunted the woods and deserts, the gloomy scenes of their extravagant devotion, contributed much, among other causes, to the decay of solid and rational piety. Add to all this, the irruptions of the barbarous nations into the west, the atrocious exploits of usurping princes, the drooping and neglected condition of all the various branches of learning, the ambitious frenzy of the Roman pontiffs, who were incessantly gaping after new accessions of authority and dominion, the frauds and tricks of the monastic orders carried on under the specious mask of religion, and then we shall see the true causes that founded the empire of superstition and error upon the ruin of virtue, piety, and reason.

The corrupt
ignorance
and supersti-
tion that
reigned in
this century,
appear even
in the single
instance of
the foolish
veneration
that was paid
to the saints
and their
relics.

III. The ignorance and corruption that dishonoured the Christian church, in this century, were great beyond measure ; and were there no other examples of their enormity upon record, than the single instance of that stupid veneration

eneration that was paid to the bones and carcases of departed saints; this would be sufficient to convince us of the deplorable progress of superstition. This idolatrous devotion was now considered as the most sacred and momentous branch of religion, nor did any dare to entertain the smallest hopes of finding the Deity propitious, before they had assured themselves of the protection and intercession of some one or other of the saintly order. Hence it was that every church, and indeed every private Christian, had their particular patron among the saints, from an apprehension that their spiritual interests would be but indifferently managed by those, who were already employed about the souls of others; for they judged, in this respect, of the saints as they did of mortals, whose capacity is too limited to comprehend a vast variety of objects. This notion rendered it necessary to multiply prodigiously the number of the saints, and to create daily new patrons for the deluded people; and this was done with the utmost zeal. The priests and monks set their invention at work, and peopled, at discretion, the invisible world with imaginary protectors. They dispelled the thick darkness, which covered the pretended spiritual exploits of many holy men; and they invented both names and histories of saints [g] that never existed, that they might not be at a loss to furnish the credulous and wretched multitude with objects proper to perpetuate their superstition and to nourish their confidence. Many chose their own guides, and committed their spiritual interests either to phantoms of their own creation, or to distracted fanatics, whom they esteemed as saints, for no other reason, than their having lived like mad-men.

IV. The ecclesiastical councils found it necessary, at length, to set limits to the licentious superstition of those ignorant wretches, who, with a view to have still more friends at court, for such were their gross notions of things, were daily adding new saints to the list of their celestial mediators. They, accordingly, declared by a solemn decree that no departed Christian should be considered as a

The saints
canonized.

[(g) See Dr. MIDDLETON's letter from *Rome, passim*, in which we find the names of St. BACCHO, St. VIAR, St. AMPHIBOLUS, EUODIA, &c.]

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

member of the faintly order before the bishop in a provincial council, and in presence of the people had pronounced him worthy of that distinguished honour [h]. This remedy, feeble and illusory as it was, contributed, in some measure, to restrain the fanatical temerity of the saint-makers; but, in its consequences, it was the occasion of a new accession of power to the Roman pontif. Even so early as this century many were of opinion, that it was proper and expedient, though not absolutely necessary, that the decisions of bishops and councils should be confirmed by the consent and authority of the Roman pontif, whom they considered as the supreme and universal bishop; and this will not appear surprizing to any who reflect upon the enormous strides, which the bishops of *Rome* made towards unbounded dominion in this barbarous and superstitious age, whose corruption and darkness were peculiarly favourable to their ambitious pretensions. It is true, we have no example of any person solemnly sainted by the bishop of *Rome* alone, before the xth century [i], when UDALRIC, hishop of *Augsburg*, received this dignity in a formal manner from JOHN XV. It is however certain, that before that time, the Roman pontifs were consulted in matters of that nature, and their judgment respected in the choice of those, that were to be honoured with saintship [k]; and it was by such steps as these, that the church of *Rome* engrossed to itself the creation of these tutelary divinities, which, at length, was distinguished by the title of *Canonization*.

[h] MABILLON, *Act. Sanctior. Ord. Benedicti, Sæc. v. Pref. p. 44.* LAUNOY, *De Lazari, Magdalena, et Marthæ in Provinciam appulsi*, cap. i. § 12. p. 342. tom. ii. part I. opp. FRANC. PAGI, *Breviarium Pontif. Romanor.* tom. ii. p. 259. tom. iii. p. 30.

[i] See DAN. PAPEBROCHIUS, *De solennium canonisationum initii et progress. in Propylæo Actor. SS. mens. Maii*, p. 171; and the other authors who have written upon this subject, of which there is an ample list in the *Bibliographia Antiquar.* of FABRICIUS, cap. vii. § 25. p. 270.

[k] See the candid and impartial account that is given of this matter by the late pope BENEDICT XIV, in his laborious work, *De servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione*, lib. i. cap. vii. p. 50. tom. i. opp. edit. *Roman.* It were to be wished, that historians of the church of *Rome* would learn to imitate the prudence, moderation, and equity of that illustrious pontif.

V. This

V. This preposterous multiplication of saints was a new source of abuses and frauds. It was thought necessary to write the lives of these celestial patrons, in order to procure for them the veneration and confidence of a deluded multitude; and here lying wonders were invented, and all the resources of forgery and fable exhausted to celebrate exploits which had never been performed, and to perpetuate the memory of holy persons who had never existed. We have yet extant a prodigious quantity of these trifling legends, the greatest part of which were, undoubtedly, forged after the time of CHARLEMAGNE by the monastic writers, who had both the inclination and leisure to edify the church by these pious frauds. The same impostors, who peopled the celestial regions with fictitious saints, employed also their fruitful inventions in embellishing with false miracles, and various other impertinent forgeries, the history of those, who had been really martyrs or confessors in the cause of CHRIST; these fictions, however, did not pass with impunity, but were severely censured by some of the most eminent writers of the times in which they were imposed upon the credulity of the public [1]. Various were the motives that engaged different persons to propagate, or countenance, these impostures. Some were excited to this by the seductions of a false devotion, which reigned in this perverse and ignorant age, and made them imagine that departed saints were highly delighted with the applauses and veneration of mortals, and never failed to crown with peculiar marks of their favour and protection such as were zealous in honouring their memories, and in celebrating their exploits. The prospect of gain, and the ambitious desire of being revered by the multitude, engaged others to multiply the number and to maintain the credit of the legends, or

C E N T,
IX.
P A R T II.

Lives of the
saints.

[1] See SERVATUS LUPUS's *Vita Maximini*, p. 275, 276. and the candid and learned observations upon this subject that are to be found in various places of the works of the celebrated LAUNOY: e. g. in his *Dispunctio Epistolæ Petri de Marca, de tempore quo in Gallia Christi fides recepta*, cap. xiv. p. 110. in his *Dissertationes de primis Christianæ relig. in Gallia initiis*, Diss. ii. p. 142. 144, 145. 147. 168, 169. 181.—*De Lazari, Magdal. et Marthæ in Galliam impulsu*, p. 340.—*De Duobus Dionysiis*, p. 527. 529, 530. tom. ii. part I. opp.—See also MARTENE *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 751.—*Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 273.

saintly

CENT.
IX.
PART II.

faintly registers. For the churches, that were dedicated to the saints, were perpetually crowded with supplicants, who flocked to them with rich presents in order to obtain succour under the afflictions they suffered, or deliverance from the dangers which they had reason to apprehend. And it was esteemed also a high honour to be the more immediate ministers of these tutelary mediators, who, as it is likewise proper to observe, were esteemed and frequented in proportion to their antiquity, and to the number and importance of the pretended miracles that had rendered their lives illustrious. This latter circumstance offered a strong temptation, to such as were employed by the various churches in writing the lives of their tutelar saints, to supply by invention the defects of truth, and to embellish their legends with fictitious prodigies; nay, they were not only tempted to this imposture, but were even obliged to make use of it in order to swell the fame of their respective patrons [m].

A passionate
fondness for
their relics
prevails.

VI. But even all this was insufficient to satisfy the demands of superstition nourished by the stratagems of a corrupt and designing priesthood, and fomented by the zeal of the more ignorant and stupid sons of the church. It was not enough to reverence departed saints, and to confide in their intercession and succours; it was not enough to cloath them with an imaginary power of healing diseases, working miracles, and delivering from all sorts of calamities and dangers; their bones, their cloaths, the apparel, and furniture they had possessed during their lives, the very ground which they had touched, or in which their putrified carcases were laid, were treated with a stupid veneration, and supposed to retain the marvellous virtue of healing all disorders both of body and mind, and of defending such as possessed them against all the assaults and devices of satan. The consequence of this wretched notion was, that every one was eager to provide himself with these salutary remedies, for which purpose great numbers undertook fatiguing and perilous voyages, and subjected themselves to all sorts of hardships; while others

[m] Of all the lives of the saints written in this century, none are more liable to suspicion than those drawn up by the Britons and Normans. See MABILLON *Præf. ad Sac. i. Benedictin. sub init.*

made

made use of this delusion, to accumulate their riches, and to impose upon the miserable multitude by the most impious and shocking inventions. As the demand for relics was prodigious and universal, the clergy employed all their dexterity to satisfy these demands, and were far from being nice in the methods they used for that end. The bodies of the saints were sought by fasting and prayer instituted by the priest in order to obtain a divine answer, and an infallible direction, and this pretended direction never failed to accomplish their desires; the holy carcase was always found, and that always in consequence, as they impiously gave out, of the suggestion, and inspiration of God himself. Each discovery of this kind was attended with excessive demonstrations of joy, and animated the zeal of these devout seekers to enrich the church still more and more with this new kind of treasure. Many traveled with this view into the eastern provinces, and frequented the places, which CHRIST and his disciples had honoured with their presence, that, with the bones and other sacred remains of the first heralds of the gospel, they might comfort dejected minds, calm trembling consciences, save sinking states, and defend their inhabitants from all sorts of calamities. Nor did these pious travellers return home empty; the craft, dexterity, and knavery of the Greeks found a rich prey in the stupid credulity of the Latin relic-hunters, and made a profitable commerce of this new devotion. The latter paid considerable sums for legs and arms, skulls and jaw-bones (several of which were Pagan, and some not human) and other things that were supposed to have belonged to the primitive worthies of the Christian church; and thus the Latin churches came to the possession of those celebrated relics of St. MARK, St. JAMES, St. BARTHOLOMEW, CYPRIAN, PANTALEON, and others, which they shew at this day with so much ostentation. But there were many, who, unable to procure for themselves these spiritual treasures by voyages and prayers, had recourse to violence and theft; for all sorts of means and all sorts of attempts in a cause of this nature were considered, when successful, as pious and acceptable to the supreme being [n].

[n] See MURATORI *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 6. who gives examples of the truth of this assertion.

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

The exposition of the scriptures neglected among the Greeks.

Defects of the Latin commentators.

VII. The study of the holy scriptures languished much among the Greeks in this century. PHOTIUS, who composed a book of *Questions* [o], relating to various passages of scripture, *An Exposition of the Epistles of St. PAUL*, and other productions of the same nature [p], was one of the few that employed their talents in the illustration of the sacred writings. He was a man of great sagacity and genius, who preferred the dictates of reason to the decisions of authority; notwithstanding all which, he cannot be recommended as a model to other commentators. The other Greek writers, who attempted to explain the holy scriptures, did little more than compile and accumulate various passages from the commentators of the preceding ages; and this method was the origin of those *Catenæ*, or chains of commentaries, so much in vogue among the Greeks during this century, of which a considerable number have come down to our times, and which consisted entirely in a collection of the explications of scripture that were scattered up and down in the ancient writers. The greatest part of the theological writers, finding themselves incapable of more arduous undertakings, confined their labours to this compiling method to the great detriment of sacred criticism.

VIII. The Latin commentators were vastly superior in number to those among the Greeks, which was owing to the zeal and munificence of CHARLEMAGNE, who, both by his liberality and by his example, had excited and encouraged the doctors of the preceding age to the study of the scriptures. Of these expositors there are two, at least,

[o] This work, which is entitled *Amphilochia*, from its having been addressed to AMPHILOCHIUS, bishop of *Cyzicum*, consists of 308 questions and answers to them, a sixth part of which, at least, are to be found in the *Epistles of Photius*, published at London in 1651, by bishop MONTAGUE. The most of these questions relate to different texts of the *Old and New Testament*; but these are interspersed with others of a philosophical and literary kind. This work is still extant in MSS in the Vatican, Barberinian, and Bavarian libraries.

[p] Such as a *catena*, a *chain*, of commentaries on the book of *Psalms*, compiled from the writings of ATHANASIUS, BASIL, CHRYSOSTOM, &c. and a commentary upon the *Prophets*, both of which are yet extant in MSS, the former in the *Bibliotheca Segueriana*, or *Cosliniana*, and the latter in the Vatican library.

who

who are worthy of esteem, CHRISTIAN DRUTHMAR, C E N T. whose *Commentary on St. MATTHEW*, is come down to IX. our times [q] ; and the abbot BERTHARIUS, whose *Two* P A R T II. *Books concerning Fundamentals*, are also said to be yet extant. The rest seem unequal to the important office of sacred critics, and may be divided into two classes, which we have had already occasion to mention in the course of this history ; the class of those, who merely collected and reduced into a mass the opinions and explications of the ancients, and that of a fantastic set of expositors, who were always hunting after mysteries in the plainest expressions, and labouring to deduce a variety of abstruse and hidden significations from every passage of scripture, all which they did for the most part in a very clumsy and uncouth manner. At the head of the first class was RABANUS MAURUS, who acknowledges that he borrowed from the ancient doctors the materials he made use of in illustrating the Gospel of St. MATTHEW, and the Epistles of St. PAUL ; WALAFRID STRABO, who borrowed his explications chiefly from RABANUS ; CLAUDIUS of *Turin*, who trod in the footsteps of AUGUSTIN and ORIGEN ; HINCMAR, whose *Exposition of the IV Books of Kings* compiled from the fathers, are yet extant ; REMIGIUS of *Auxerre*, who derived from the same source his illustrations on the *Psalms*, and other books of sacred writ : SEDULIUS, who explained in the same manner the Epistles of St. PAUL ; FLORUS, HAYMO bishop of *Halberstadt*, and others, whom, for the sake of brevity, we pass in silence.

IX. RABANUS MAURUS, whom we introduced above Allegorists. at the head of the compilers of the fathers, deserves also an eminent place among the allegorical commentators, on account of his diffuse and tedious work, entitled *Scripture Allegories*. To this class also belong SMARAGDUS, HAYMO, SCOTUS, PASCHASIUS RADBERT, and many others, whom it is not necessary to mention. The fundamental and general principle, in which all the writers of this class agree, is, that, besides the literal signification of each pas-

[q] See R. SIMON, *Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs, du Nouv. Testament.* chap. xxv. p. 348. ; as also his *Critique de la Bibliothéque Ecclesiastique de M. du Pin*, tom. i. p. 293. who, in his xxvith and xxviiiith chapter, gives an account of most of the writers mentioned here.

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

The state of
didactic the-
ology.

face in scripture, there are hidden and deep senses which escape the vulgar eye ; but they are not agreed about the number of these mysterious significations. Some attribute to every phrase three senses ; others four ; others again five ; nay, their number is carried to seven by ANGELOME, a monk of *Lyseux*, an acute, though fantastic writer, and who is far from deserving the meanest rank among the expositors of this century [r].

X. The teachers of theology were still more contemptible than the commentators, and the Greeks, as well as the Latins, were extremely negligent both in unfolding the nature, and proving the truth of the doctrines of Christianity. Their method of inculcating divine truth was dry, and unsatisfactory, and more adapted to fill the memory with sentences, than to enlighten the understanding, or to improve the judgment. The Greeks, for the most part, followed implicitly DAMASCENUS, while the Latins submitted their hood-winked intellects to the authority of AUGUSTINE. Authority became the test of truth, and supplied in arrogance what it wanted in argument. That magisterial decisions were employed in the place of reason appears manifestly from the *Collectaneum de tribus Quæstionibus*, of SERVATUS LUPUS ; and also from a *Treatise* of REMIGIUS, concerning the necessity of holding fast the truths of the gospel, and of maintaining inviolable the sacred authority of the holy and orthodox fathers. If any deigned to appeal to the authority of the scriptures in defence of their systems, they either explained them in an allegorical manner, or, understood them in the sense that had been given to them by the decrees of councils, or in the writings of the fathers ; from which senses they thought it both unlawful and impious to depart. The Irish doctors alone, and particularly JOHANNES SCOTUS, had the courage to spurn the ignominious fetters of authority, and to explain the sublime doctrines of Christianity in a manner conformable to the dictates of reason, and the princi-

[r] See the Preface to his *Commentary on the book of Kings*, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum Maxima*, tom. xv. p. 308. The commentary of ANGELOME upon the book of *Genesis*, was published by BERNARD PEZIUS, in his *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, tom. i. part I. but, indeed, the loss would not have been great had it never seen the light.

ples of true philosophy. But this noble attempt drew upon them the malignant fury of a superstitious age, and exposed them to the hatred of the Latin theologists, who would not permit either reason or philosophy to meddle themselves in religious matters [s].

XI. The important science of morals suffered, like all others, in the hands of ignorant and unskilful writers. The labours of some were wholly employed in collecting from the fathers an indigested heap of maxims and sentences concerning religious and moral duties; and such, among others, was the work of ALVARUS, entitled *Scintille Patrum*. Others wrote in a more systematic manner concerning virtue and vice, such as HALITGARIUS, RABANUS MAURUS, and JONAS, bishop of Orleans; but the representations they gave of the one and the other were very different from those which we find in the gospel of CHRIST. Others again, fell into that most absurd and delusive method of instructing the ignorant in the will of God by a fantastic combination of figures and allegories; and several of the Greeks began to turn their studies towards the resolving *cases of conscience* [t], in order to remove the difficulties that arose in scrupulous and timorous minds. We pass in silence the writers of homilies and books of penance, of which there was a considerable number in this century.

XII. The doctrine of the mystics, whose origin is falsely attributed to DIONYSIUS the *Areopagite*, and whose precepts were designed to elevate the soul above all sensible and terrestrial objects, and to unite it to the deity in an ineffable manner, had been now for a long time in vogue among the Greeks, and more especially among the monastic orders. And to augment the credit of this fanatical sect, and multiply its followers, MICHAEL SYNCELLUS and METHODIUS composed the most pompous and eloquent panegyrics upon the memory of DIONYSIUS, in which his virtues were celebrated with the utmost exag-

[s] For an account of the persecution and hatred that JOHANNES SCOTUS suffered in the cause of reason and liberty, see DU BOULAY, *Hist. Academ. Paris.* tom. i. p. 182; as also MABILLON, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened. Sac.* v. 392.

[t] See NICEPHORI *Chartophylac. Epistole Dux*, in the *Bibliotheca Magna Patrum*, tom. iii. p. 413.

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

geration. The Latins were not as yet bewitched with the specious appearance, and the illusory charms of the mystic devotion, which was equally adapted to affect persons of a lively fancy, and those of a more gloomy turn of mind. They lived in a happy ignorance of this contagious doctrine, when the Grecian emperor MICHAEL BALBUS sent to LEWIS the MEEK, in the year 824, a copy of the pretended works [u] of DIONYSIUS the *Areopagite*, which fatal present kindled immediately the holy flame of mysticism in the western provinces, and filled the Latins with the most enthusiastic admiration of this new religion. The translation of these spurious works into Latin by the express order of the emperor [w], who could not be easy while his subjects were deprived of such an inestimable treasure, contributed much to the progress of mysticism. By the order of the same emperor, HILDUIN, abbot of St. *Denys*, composed an account of the life, actions, and writings of DIONYSIUS, under the title of *Areopagitica*, in which work, among other impudent fictions, usual in those times of superstition and imposture,

[u] USSERII *Sylloge Epp. Hibernicar.* p. 54, 55. The spuriousness of these works is now universally granted by the most learned and impartial of the Roman catholic writers, as they contain accounts of many events that happened several ages after the time of DIONYSIUS, and were not at all mentioned until after the fifth century. See FLEURY, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. liv. tom. xi. p. 520. edit. *Bruxelles*.

[w] That these books were translated by the order of LEWIS, appears manifestly from the *Epistle* to that emperor, which HILDUIN prefixed to his *Areopagitica*, and in which (p. 66. edit. *Colon.* 1563.) we find the following passage: *De notitia librorum, quos (Dionysius) patrio sermone conscripsit, et quibus petentibus illos composuit, lectis nobis per Dei gratiam et vestram ordinationem, CUJUS DISPENSATIONE INTERPRETATOS, scrinia nostra eos petentibus referant, satisfacit.* From this passage it is evident that they are mistaken, who affirm that the Latin translation of the works of DIONYSIUS was not made before the time of CHARLES the BALD. And they err also who, with MABILLON, *Annal. Benedic.* tom. ii. lib. xxix. § 59. p. 488. and the authors of the *Hist. Litt. de la France*, tom. v. p. 425. inform us, that MICHAEL BALBUS sent these works already translated into Latin to the emperor LEWIS. It is amazing how men of learning could fall into this latter error after reading the following passage in the *Epistle* above quoted: *Authenticos namque eosdem [Dionysii] libros Græca lingua conscriptos, cum echnomus ecclesiæ Constantinopolitanae et ceteri missi Michaelis legatione—functi sunt pro munere magno suscepimus.*

he maintained, in order to exalt the honour of his nation, that DIONYSIUS the *Areopagite*, and DIONYSIUS, bishop of *Paris*, were one and the same person [*]. This fable, which was invented with unparalleled assurance, was received with the most perfect and unthinking credulity, and made such a deep and permanent impression upon the minds of the French, that the repeated demonstrations of its falshood have not as yet been sufficient to ruin its credit entirely. As the first translation of the works of DIONYSIUS, that had been done by the order of LEWIS the MEEK, was probably in a barbarous and obscure style, a new and more elegant one was given by the famous JOHANNES SCOTUS ERIGENA, at the request of CHARLES the BALD, the publication of which increased considerably the partisans of the mystic theology among the French, Italians, and Germans. SCOTUS himself was so enchanted with this new doctrine, that he incorporated it into his philosophical system, and upon all occasions either accommodated his philosophy to it, or explained it according to the principles of his philosophy.

XIII. The defence of Christianity against the Jews and Pagans was greatly neglected in this century, in which the intestine disputes and dissensions that divided the church gave sufficient employment to such as had an inclination to controversy, or a talent of managing it with dexterity and knowledge. AGOBARD, however, as also AMULO and RABANUS MAURUS, chastised the insolence and malignity of the Jews, and exposed their various absurdities and errors, while the emperor LEO, THEODORUS ABUCARA, and other writers, whose performances are lost, employed their polemic labours against the progress of the Saracens, and refuted their impious and extravagant system. But it may be observed in general of those, who wrote against the Saracens, that they reported many things, both concerning MAHOMET and his religion, which were far from being true; and if, as there is too much reason to imagine, they did this designedly and knowing the falshood, or at least the uncertainty of what they alledged against

The state of
polemic or
controversial
theology.

[*] LAUNOY, *Diff. de Discrimine Dionysii Areopag. et Parisiensis*, cap. iv. p. 38. tom. ii. p. I. opp. as also the other writings of this great man concerning the *Two Dionysius's*.

CENT.
IX.
PART II.

The contro-
versy con-
cerning ima-
ges among
the Greeks.

these infidels, we must look upon their writings rather as intended to deter the Christians from apostasy, than to give a rational refutation of the Saracen doctrine.

XIV. The contests of the Christians among themselves were carried on with greater eagerness and animosity than the disputes in which they were engaged with the common enemies of their faith; and these contests were daily productive of new calamities and disorders which dishonoured their profession, and cast a heavy, though undeserved reproach upon the cause of true religion. After the banishment of IRENE, the controversy concerning images broke out anew among the Greeks, and was carried on by the contending parties, during the half of this century, with various and uncertain success. The emperor NICEPHORUS, though he did not abrogate the decrees of the council of *Nice*, nor order the images to be taken out of the churches, yet deprived the patrons of image-worship of all power to molest or injure their adversaries, and seems upon the whole to have been an enemy to that idolatrous service. But his successor MICHAEL CUROPALATES, surnamed RHANGABE, acted in a very different manner. Feeble and timorous, and dreading the rage of the priests and monks that maintained the cause of images, he favoured that cause during his short reign, and persecuted its adversaries with the greatest bitterness and cruelty. The scene changed again, upon the accession of LEO the Armenian to the empire, who abolished the decrees of the Nicene council relating to the use and worship of images in a council assembled at *Constantinople*, A. D. 814 [y] without however enacting any penal laws against their idolatrous worshippers. This moderation, far from satisfying the patriarch NICEPHORUS, and the other partisans of image-worship, only served to encourage their obstinacy and to increase their insolence; upon which the emperor removed the haughty prelate from his office, and chastised the fury of several of his adherents with a deserved punishment. His successor MICHAEL, surnamed BALBUS, or the *Stammerer*, was obliged to observe the same conduct, and to depart from the clemency and indulgence, which, in the

[y] FLEURY and some other writers place the meeting of this council in the year 815.

beginning of his reign, he had discovered towards the worshipers of images, whose idolatry, however, he was far from approving; the monks more especially provoked his indignation by their fanatical rage, and forced him to treat them with particular severity. But the zeal of his son and successor THEOPHILUS, in discouraging this new idolatry, was still more vehement; for he opposed the worshipers of images with great violence, and went so far as to put to death some of the more obstinate ring-leaders of that impetuous faction.

XV. Upon the death of THEOPHILUS, which happened in the year 842, the regency was entrusted with the empress THEODORA during her son's minority. This superstitious princess, fatigued with the importunate solicitations of the monks, deluded by their forged miracles, and not a little influenced also by their insolent threats, assembled in the year abovementioned, a council at Constantinople, in which the decrees of the second Nicene council were reinstated in their lost authority, and the Greeks were indulged in their corrupt propensity to image-worship by a law which encouraged that wretched idolatry [z]. So that after a controversy, which had been carried on during the space of an hundred and ten years, the cause of idolatry triumphed over the dictates of reason and Christianity; the whole east, the Armenians excepted, bowed down before the victorious images; nor did any of the succeeding emperors attempt to cure the Greeks of this superstitious frenzy, or restrain them in the performance of this childish worship. The council that was held at Constantinople under PHOTIUS, in the year 879, and which is reckoned by the Greeks the *Eighth general council*, gave a farther degree of force and vigour to idolatry, by maintaining the sanctity of images, and approving, confirming, and renewing the Nicene decrees. The superstitious Greeks, who were blind-led by the monks in the most ignominious manner, esteemed this council as a most signal blessing derived to them from the immediate

[z] See FRED. SPANHEIM, *Historia Imaginum*, sect. viii. p. 845. m. ii. opp.—LENFANT, *Préservatif contre la Reunion avec le Siege de Rome*, tom. iii. lettre xiv. p. 147. lett. xviii, xix. p. 509.

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

Among the
Latins.

interposition of heaven, and accordingly instituted in commemoration thereof an anniversary festival, which was called the *Feast of Orthodoxy* [a].

XVI. The triumph of images, notwithstanding the zealous efforts of the Roman pontiffs in their favour, was obtained with much more difficulty among the Latins, than it had been among the Greeks; for the former maintained as yet that invaluable, and indeed inalienable, privilege of judging for themselves in religious matters, and were far from being disposed to submit their reason implicitly to the decisions of the pontif, or to look upon any thing as infallible and true, which had authority for its only foundation. The most of the European Christians, as we have seen already, steered a middle course between the idolaters and the Iconoclasts, between those who were zealous for the worship of images, on the one hand, and those who were averse to all use of them on the other. They were of opinion, that images might be suffered as the means of aiding the memory of the faithful, and of calling to their remembrance the pious exploits and the virtuous actions of the persons they represented; but they detested all thoughts of paying them the least marks of religious homage or adoration. MICHAEL BALBUS, when he sent in the year 824, a solemn embassy to LEWIS the MEEK, to renew and confirm the treaties of friendship and peace that had been concluded between his predecessors in the empire and CHARLEMAGNE, charged his ministers, in a particular manner, to bring over the king of the Franks [b] to the party of the Iconoclasts, that they might gradually suppress, by their united influence, the worship of images, and thus restore concord and tranquillity to the church. LEWIS, upon this occasion, assembled a council at *Paris* A. D. 824 [c], in order to examine the proposal of the Gre-

[a] See GRETSER. *Observat. in Codicum de officiis Aulae et Eccles. Constantinopolitanae*, lib. iii. c. viii. as also the *Ceremoniale Byzantinum*, lately published by REISK, lib. i. c. xxviii. p. 92.

[b] So MICHAEL and his son THEOPHILUS style LEWIS in their letter to him, refusing him the title of emperor, to which, however, he had an undoubted right in consequence of the treaties which they now desired to renew.

[c] FLEURY, LE SUEUR, and other historians, place unanimously this council in the year 825. It may be proper to observe

cian emperor, in which it was resolved to adhere to the decrees of the council of *Frankfort*, which allowed the use of images in the churches, but severely prohibited the treating them with the smallest marks of religious worship. But in process of time the European Christians departed gradually from the observance of this injunction, and fell imperceptibly into a blind submission to the decisions of the Roman pontif, whose influence and authority grew more formidable from day to day. So that towards the conclusion of this century the Gallican clergy began to pay a certain kind of religious homage to the faintly images, in which their example was followed by the Germans and other nations [d].

XVII. Notwithstanding this apostasy, the Iconoclasts were not destitute of adherents among the Latins. The most eminent of these was CLAUDIUS, bishop of *Turin*, by birth a Spaniard, and also a disciple of FELIX, bishop of *Urgel*. This zealous prelate, as soon as he had obtained the episcopal dignity through the favour of LEWIS the MEEK, began to exercise the duties of his function in the year 823, by ordering all images, and even the cross, to be cast out of the churches, and committed to the flames. The year following he composed a treatise, in which he not only defended these vehement proceedings, and declared against the use, as well as the worship, of images, but also broached several other opinions that were quite contrary to the notions of the multitude, and to the prejudices of the times. He denied, among other things, in opposition to the Greeks, that the cross was to

Several Iconoclasts among the Latins.

here, that the proceedings of this council evidently shew that the decisions of the Roman pontif were by no means looked upon at this time either as obligatory, or infallible. For when the letter of pope ADRIAN, in favour of images, was read in the council, it was almost unanimously rejected as containing absurd and erroneous opinions. The decrees of the second council of *Nice*, relating to image-worship, were also censured by the Gallican bishops; and the authority of that council, though received by several popes as an *oecumenical* one, absolutely rejected. And what is remarkable is, that the pope did not, on this account, declare the Gallican bishops heretics, nor exclude them from the communion of the apostolic see. See FLEURY, liv. xlvii.

[d] MABILLON, *Annal. Benedictin.* tom. ii. p. 488.—Id. *Præf. ad Sæc. iv. Act. SS. Ord. Benedicti, Sæc. iv.* part I. p. 7, 8.—LE COINTE, *Annal. Eccles. Francor.* tom. iv. ad b. a. 824.

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

be honoured with any kind of worship; he treated relics with the utmost contempt, as absolutely destitute of the virtues that were attributed to them, and censured with much freedom and severity those pilgrimages to the holy land, and those voyages to the tombs of the saints, which, in this century, were looked upon as extremely salutary, and particularly meritorious. This noble stand, in the defence of true religion, drew upon CLAUDIUS a multitude of adversaries; the sons of superstition rushed upon him from all quarters; THEODEMIR DUNGALLUS, JONAS of *Orleans*, and WALAFRIDUS STRABO [e] united to overwhelm him with their voluminous answers. But the learned and venerable prelate maintained his ground [f], and supported his cause with such dexterity and force that it remained triumphant, and gained new credit. And hence it happened that the city of *Turin* and the adjacent country were, for a long time after the death of CLAUDIUS, much less infected with superstition, than the other parts of *Europe*.

Continuation of the controversy concerning the derivation or procession of the holy Ghost.

XVIII. The controversy that had been carried on in the preceding century concerning the *procession* (if we may be allowed that term) of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, and also concerning the word *filioque*, foisted by the Latins into the Creed of *Constantinople*, broke out now with redoubled vehemence, and from a private dispute became a flaming contest between the Greek and Latin churches. The monks of *Jerusalem* distinguished themselves in this controversy, and complained particularly of the interpolation of the words *filioque*, i. e. *and from the son*, in the abovementioned symbol; nor did they stop here, but dispatched to CHARLEMAGNE, in the year 809, a certain ecclesiastic of their order, whose name was JOHN, to obtain satisfaction in this matter [g]. The affair was debated in due form,

[e] In order to do justice to the adversaries of CLAUDIUS here mentioned, it is necessary to observe that they only maintained the innocence and usefulness of images, without pretending to represent them as objects of religious worship.

[f] MABILLON, *Annal. Benedictin.* tom. ii. p. 488.—*Præf. ad Sæc. iv. Act. SS. Ord. Benedict.* p. viii.—*Histoire Litter. de la France*, tom. iv. p. 491. & tom. v. p. 27. 64.—JAQ. BASNAGE, *Histoire des Eglises Reformées*, tom. i. period. iv. p. 38. ed. in 4^{to}.

[g] See STEPH. BALUZII *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 14.

both

both in a council assembled this same year at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and at *Rome*, in presence of the sovereign pontif LEO III, to whom the emperor had sent ambassadors for that purpose. LEO adopted the doctrine which represented the Holy Ghost as proceeding from the Father and the Son, but he condemned the addition that had been made to the symbol [b], and declared it as his opinion, that the word *filioque*, or *from the son*, as it was a glaring interpolation, ought to be omitted in reading the symbol, and at length struck out of it entirely, not every where at once, but in such a prudent manner as to prevent disturbance. His successors were of the same opinion: the word, however, being once admitted, not only kept its place in opposition to the Roman pontiffs, but was by degrees added to the symbol in all the Latin churches [i].

XIX. To these disputes of ancient origin were added controversies entirely new, and particularly that famous one *Concerning the manner in which the body and blood of Christ were present in the eucharist*. It had been hitherto the unanimous opinion of the church, that the body and blood of CHRIST were administered to those who received the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that they were consequently *present* at that holy institution; but the sentiments of Christians concerning the *nature* and *manner* of this *presence* were various and contradictory, nor had any council determined with precision that important point, or prescribed the manner in which this pretended presence was to be understood. Both reason and folly were hitherto left free in this matter, nor had any imperious mode of faith suspended the exercise of the one, or restrained the extravagance of the other. But in this century PASCASIUS RADBERT, a monk, and afterwards abbot of *Corbey*, pretended to explain with precision, and to determine with certainty, the doctrine of the church

The controversy concerning the eucharist set on foot by Pascaſius Radbert.

[b] This addition of the word *filioque* to the symbol of *Nice* and *Constantinople* was made in the vth and vith centuries by the churches of *Spain*, and their example was followed by most of the Gallican churches, where the symbol was read and sung with this addition.

[i] See LE COINTE, *Annal. Eccles. Francor.* tom. iv. ad A. 809.—LONGUEVAL, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. v. p. 151.

CENT.
IX.
PART II.

on this head, for which purpose he composed, in the year 831, a treatise *Concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ* [k]. A second edition of this treatise, revised with care and considerably augmented, was presented in the year 845 to CHARLES the BALD, and gave principally occasion to the warm and important controversy that ensued. The doctrine of PASCASIUS amounted in general to the two following propositions: *First*, that, after the consecration of the bread and wine in the Lord's supper, nothing remained of these symbols but the *outward figure*, under which the body and blood of CHRIST were really and locally *present*; and *secondly*, that the body of CHRIST thus present in the eucharist was the *same body*, that was born of the Virgin, that suffered upon the cross, and was raised from the dead. This new doctrine, and more especially the second proposition now mentioned, excited, as might well be expected, the astonishment of many. Accordingly it was opposed by RABANUS MAURUS, HERIBALD, and others, though they did not all refute it in the same method, nor upon the same principles. CHARLES the BALD, upon this occasion, ordered the famous RATRAMN and JOHANNES SCOTUS to draw up a clear and rational explication of that important doctrine which RADBERT seemed to have so egregiously corrupted [l]. These learned divines executed with zeal and diligence the order of the emperor. The treatise of SCOTUS perished in the ruins of time, but that of RATRAMN is still extant [m], and furnished ample

[k] See MABILLON, *Annales Benedict.* ii. p. 539. An accurate edition of RADBERT's book is published by MARTENE, in the ix. tome of his *Ampliss. Collect. veter. scriptor.* p. 378. The life and actions of this wrong-headed divine are treated of at large by MABILLON, in his *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict. Sac.* iv. part II. 126. and, by the jesuits, in the *Acta SS. Antwerp. ad d. xxvi Aprilis.*

[l] For an account of RATRAMN, or BERTRAMN, and his famous book which has made so much noise in the world, see FABRICIUS *Biblioth. Lat. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 1661.

[m] A new English translation of the book of BERTRAMN, priest and monk of Corbey, *Concerning the BODY and BLOOD of JESUS CHRIST in the sacrament*, was published in Dublin in the year 1753; to which is prefixed a very learned and judicious Historical Dissertation concerning this famous author and his works, in which both are ably defended against the calumnies and fictions of the Roman catholic writers.

matter

matter of dispute both in the last and present century [n].

XX. It is remarkable that in this controversy each of the contending parties were almost as much divided among themselves as they were at variance with their adversaries. RADBERT, who began the dispute, contradicts himself in many places, departs from his own principles, and maintains in one part of his book conclusions that he had disavowed in another. His principal adversary BERTRAMN, or RATRAMN, seems in some respects liable to the same charge; he appears to follow in general the doctrine of those, who deny that the body and blood of CHRIST are *really* present in the holy sacrament, and to affirm on the contrary that they are only represented by the bread and wine as their signs or symbols. There are, however, several passages in his book which seem inconsistent with this just and rational notion of the eucharist, or at least are susceptible of different interpretations, and have therefore given rise to various disputes. JOHANNES SCOTUS, whose philosophical genius rendered him more accurate, and shed through his writings that logical precision so much wanted, and so highly desirable in polemical productions, was the only disputant in this contest, who expressed his sentiments with perspicuity, method, and consistency, and declared plainly that the bread and wine were the *signs* and *symbols* of the *absent* body and blood of CHRIST. All the other theologists of his time fluctuate and waver in their opinions, express themselves with ambiguity, and embrace and reject the same tenets at different times, as if they had no fixed or permanent principles concerning the matter in question. From all this, however, it evidently appears, that there was not as yet in the Latin church any fixed or universally received opinion concerning the *manner* in which the body and blood of *Christ* are present in the eucharist.

XXI. The disputants in this controversy charged each other reciprocally with the most odious doctrines, which each party drew by way of consequences from the

[n] There is an account, but a partial one, of this controversy in MABILLON's *Præf. ad. Sac. iv. part. II. Benedict.* p. viii. which the curious reader will therefore do well to compare with BASNAGE's *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 909.

CENT.
IX
PART. II.

And carried
on by his ad-
versary Ber-
tramn.

tenets

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

tenets they opposed, a method of proceeding as unjust, as it is common in all kinds of debate. Hence arose that imaginary heresy, that upon the triumphant progress of the doctrine of transubstantiation in the xith century, was branded with the title of *Stercoranism*, and of which the true origin was as follows: They, who, embracing the opinion of PASCASIUS RADBERT, believed that the bread and wine in the sacrament were substantially changed after the consecration, and preserved only their external figure, drew a most unjust conclusion from the opinion of their adversaries, who maintained on the contrary that the bread and wine preserved their substance, and that CHRIST's body and blood were only figuratively and not really present in the eucharist. They alledged that the doctrine of the latter implied, that the body of CHRIST was digested in the stomach, and was thrown out with the other excrements. But this consequence was quickly retorted upon those that imagined it; for they who denied the metamorphosis of the bread and wine into the real body and blood of CHRIST, charged the same enormous consequence upon their antagonists who believed this transmutation; and the charge was much more applicable certainly to the latter than to the former. The truth of the matter is, that it was neither truly applicable to the one nor to the other, and their mutual reproaches, most wretchedly founded, shew rather a spirit of invective, than a zeal for the truth. The charge of *Stercoranism* is but a malignant invention; it can never, without the most absurd impudence, be brought against those who deny the transmutation of the bread into the body of CHRIST; it may indeed be charged upon such as allow of this transmutation, though it be a consequence that none of them, who were not frenetic, did perhaps ever avow [o].

The controversy concerning predestination and grace, set on foot by Godeschalvus,

XXII. While this controversy was at its greatest height, another, of a quite different kind, and of much more importance, arose, whose unhappy consequences are yet felt in the reformed churches. The subject of this new contest was the doctrine of *predestination* and *divine grace*, and

[o] For an account of the *Stercoranists*, see MABILLON, *Præf. ad Sæc. iv. Benedict.* part II. p. 21.—J. BASNAGE, *Histoire de l'Église*, tom. i. p. 926. and a Treatise of the learned Dr. PFAFF, published at Tubingue in 1750.

its rise is universally attributed to GODESCHALCUS, an illustrious Saxon, who had entered involuntarily into the monastic order in the convent of *Fulda*, from whence he removed to the monastery of *Orbais*, in the diocese of *Soissons*, where he prosecuted his theological studies with great assiduity, but also with an insatiable desire of sounding the deepest mysteries, and of being *wise above what is written*. This eminent ecclesiastic, upon his return from *Rome* in the year 847, took up his lodging for some time with count EBERALD, one of the first noblemen at the court of the emperor LOTHAIRE, where he discoursed largely concerning the intricate doctrine of *predestination* in presence of NOTHINGUS, bishop of *Verona*, and maintained that GOD from all eternity had pre-ordained some to everlasting life, and others to everlasting punishment and misery. RABANUS MAURUS, who was by no means his friend, being informed of his propagating this doctrine, opposed him with all his might. To render his opposition more successful, he began by representing GODESCHALCUS as a corrupter of the true religion, and a forger of monstrous heresies, in some letters addressed to count EBERALD, and to the bishop of *Verona*. And when the accused monk came from *Italy* into *Germany* to justify himself against these clamours, and for that purpose appeared at *Mentz*, of which RABANUS his accuser was archbishop, he was condemned in a council assembled by the latter in that city A. D. 848, and sent from thence to HINCMAR, archbishop of *Rheims*, in whose diocese he had received the order of priesthood. HINCMAR, who was devoted to the interests of RABANUS, assembled a council at *Quiercy* A. D. 849, in which GODESCHALCUS was condemned a second time, and was also treated in a manner equally repugnant to the principles of religion and the dictates of humanity. Because he was firm in maintaining his doctrine, which he affirmed, and indeed with truth, to be the doctrine of St. AUGUSTINE, the imperious HINCMAR degraded him from the priesthood, and was so barbarous as to order him to be whipped with the utmost severity, until the force of his pain overpowering his constancy obliged him, according to the commands of his reverend executioners, to burn with his own hands the justification of his opinions which he had presented to the council

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

The history
of this con-
troversy.

council of *Mentz*. After these barbarous proceedings, the unfortunate monk was cast into prison in the monastery of *Hautvilliers*, where he ended his misery and his days in the year 868, or the year following, maintaining with his last breath the doctrine for which he had suffered.

XXIII. While GODESCHALCUS lay in prison, his doctrine gained him followers, his sufferings excited compassion, and both together produced a considerable schism in the Latin church. RATRAMN, monk of *Corbey*, PRUDENTIUS, bishop of *Troyes*, LOUP, or LUPUS, abbot of *Ferrieres*, FLORUS, deacon of *Lyons*, REMI, archbishop of the same city, with his whole church, all these eminent and illustrious ecclesiastics, with many others whom it would be tedious to mention, pleaded with the utmost zeal and vehemence, both in their writings and in their discourse, the cause of this unhappy monk, and of his condemned opinions. Some indeed confined themselves principally to the defence of his person and conduct; while others went farther, and employed all their zeal, and all their labour, in the vindication of his doctrine. On the opposite side of the question were HINCMAR, his unrighteous judge, AMALARIUS, the celebrated JOHANNES SCOTUS, and others, who all maintained that GODESCHALCUS and his opinions had received the treatment they deserved. As the spirit of controversy ran high between these contending parties, and grew more vehement from day to day, CHARLES the BALD summoned a new council, or synod, which met at *Quiercy* A. D. 853, in which, by the credit and influence of HINCMAR, the decrees of the former council were confirmed, and of consequence GODESCHALCUS again condemned. But the decrees of this council were declared null, and decisions of a different kind, by which GODESCHALCUS and his doctrine were vindicated and defended, were substituted in their place in a council assembled at *Valence* in *Dauphiney*, A. D. 855. This council was composed of the clergy of three provinces, *Lyons*, *Vienne*, and *Arles*, with REMI, archbishop of *Lyons*, at their head, and its decrees were confirmed, in the year 859, by the council of *Langres*, in which the same clergy were assembled, and in 860, by the council of *Toussy*, in which the bishops of fourteen provinces supported the cause of the persecuted monk, whose death

death diminished considerably the heat of this intricate controversy [p].

XXIV. If we attend to the merits of this cause, we shall find that the debate subsists still in all its force, and that the doctrine of GODESCHALCUS has in our days both able defenders, and powerful adversaries. He undoubtedly maintained a twofold predestination, one to everlasting life, and the other to eternal death. He held also "that God did not desire or will the salvation of all mankind, but that of the elect only; and that CHRIST did not suffer death for the whole human race, but for that part of it only, whom God has predestinated to eternal salvation." These decisions, which carry a severe and rigorous aspect, are softly and favorably interpreted by the followers of GODESCHALCUS. They deny, for example, that their leader represents God as *predestinating* to a necessary course of iniquity, those whom he has previously *predestinated* to eternal misery, and, according to them, the doctrine of GODESCHALCUS amounts to no more than this: "That God has from all eternity doomed to everlasting misery, such as he *foresaw* would go on incessant in a sinful course, and has decreed their ruin in consequence of their sins freely committed and eternally foreseen: that the salutary effects of the mercy of God and the sufferings of Christ extend indeed only to the elect, and are made good to them alone; though this mercy and these sufferings, considered in themselves, be long equally to all mankind." But this contradictory jargon did not satisfy the adversaries of the Predestinarian monk; they maintained, on the contrary, that under ambiguous terms and perplexed sentences GODESCHALCUS had concealed the most enormous errors, propagating it assiduously as an article of faith, "That God had not only

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

What judgment we are to form of this controversy.

[p] Besides the common writers, who speak of this controversy, the curious reader will do well to consult the more learned and impartial accounts they will find of it in CÆSAR EGASSE DE BOULAY'S *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 178.—MABILLON, *Præf. ad Sæc. iv. Benedict.* part II. p. xlvii.—*Hist. Litteraire de la France*, tom. v. p. 352.—USSERII *Historia Godeschalchi, Hanoviae* 1662, in 8vo, et *Dublini* 1661, in 4to.—GERHARD. JOH. VOSSII *Historia Pelagiana*, lib. vii. cap. iv.—Add JO. ALB. FABRICII *Biblioth. Latin. mediæ ævi*, tom. iii. 210.

" by

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

“ by an original decree predestinated one part of mankind
“ to eternal damnation, but had also pushed them on by
“ an irresistible necessity, by a prepollent force, to those
“ crimes and transgressions, which were proper to render
“ that damnation just [q].” Without determining any
thing upon such an intricate and incomprehensible sub-
ject, with respect to which silence is the truest wisdom,
we shall only observe that the private quarrels, and mutu-
al hatred, that prevailed between **RABANUS MAURUS**
and **GODESCHALCUS**, were the real source of the Pre-
destinarian controversy, and of all the calamities in which
it involved that unfortunate monk [r].

Hincmar
and Godes-
chalcus, dis-
pute con-
cerning the
words *Trina*
Deitas.

XXV. Another, though less important controversy arose
about this time concerning the concluding words of a
very ancient hymn, which run thus ; *te, trina Deitas una-*
que, poscimus, which may be thus translated, *O God, who*

[q] The cause of **GODESCHALCUS** has been very learnedly de-
fended by the celebrated **MAGUIN**, who published also a valuable
edition, which is yet extant, of all the treatises that were composed
on both sides of this intricate controversy. This interesting collec-
tion, which was printed at *Paris* in the year 1650, in two volumes
4to. bears the following title : *Veterum auctorum qui Nono Saeculo*
de Predestinatione et Gratia scripserunt, Opera et Fragmenta, cum
Historia et gemina Praefatione. Cardinal **NORIS** maintained also the
cause of the Predestinarian monk with more brevity, but less
moderation than **MAGUIN**. This brief vindication may be seen in
the *Synopsis Historiae Godeschalcanæ*, which is inserted in the 4th vo-
lume of the works of that cardinal, p. 677. All the **Benedictins**,
Jansenists, and **Augustin monks** maintain, almost without exception,
that **GODESCHALCUS** was most unjustly persecuted and oppressed
by **RABANUS MAURUS**. The **jesuits** are of a different opinion ;
they assert in general, and **LOUIS CELLOT**, one of their order, has
in a more particular manner laboured to demonstrate in his *Historia*
Godeschalci Predestinationis, published at *Paris* in 1655, that the
monk in question was justly condemned and deservedly punished.

[r] The parents of **GODESCHALCUS** consecrated him to God,
by devoting him from his infancy, as was the custom of the times,
to the monastic life in the monastery of *Fulda*. The young monk,
however, being arrived at a certain age, seemed much disposed to
abandon his retreat, to shake off his religious fetters, and return
again into society ; but he was prevented from the execution of this
purpose by **RABANUS MAURUS**, who kept him, against his will,
in his monastic bonds. Hence a violent contest arose between these
two ecclesiastics, in which **LEWIS the MEEK** was obliged to inter-
pose, and hence the furious disputes concerning predestination and
grace. See *Centuriæ Magdeb. Cent. ix. c. 10.*—**MABILLON**, *Annal.*
Bened. tom. ii. ad A. 829. p. 523.

art three, and at the same time but ONE, we beseech thee, &c. HINCMAR wisely prohibited the singing these words in the churches that were under his jurisdiction from a persuasion that they tended to introduce into the minds of the multitude notions inconsistent with the unity and simplicity of the supreme being, and might lead them to imagine that there were three Gods. But the Benedictine monks refused to obey this mandate, and BERTRAM, who was one of the most eminent of that order, wrote a large book to prove the expression *trina Deitas*, or *threefold Deity*, orthodox, from the authority of fathers, which was esteemed the only criterion of truth in these miserable times. GODESCHALCUS, who now lay in prison, heard of this dispute, entered warmly into it, and in a laboured dissertation supported the cause of his Benedictine brethren, on which account HINCMAR accused him of *tritheim*, and drew up a treatise to prove the charge, and to refute that impious and enormous heresy. This controversy, however, was but of a short duration, and the exceptionable passage of the hymn in question maintained its credit, notwithstanding all the efforts of HINCMAR, and continued, as before, to be sung in the churches [s].

XXVI. A vain curiosity, and not any design of promoting useful knowledge, and true piety, was the main source of the greatest part of the controversies that were carried on in this century. And it was more especially this idle curiosity, carried to an indecent and most extravagant length, that gave rise to the controversy *Concerning the manner in which Christ was born of the Virgin*, which began in Germany, and made its way from thence into France. Certain Germans maintained, that JESUS proceeded from his mother's womb in a manner quite different from those general and uniform laws of nature that regulate the birth of the human species; which opinion was no sooner known in France than it was warmly opposed by the famous RATRAMN, who wrote a book expressly to prove that CHRIST entered into the world in the very same way with other mortals, and that his Virgin-mother bare him, as other women bring forth their off-

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

The manner of Christ's birth becomes a subject of debate.

[s] There is an account of this controversy given by the writers of the life, actions, and doctrines of GODESCHALCUS.

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

spring. PASCASIUS RABERT, who was constantly employed either in inventing or patronizing the most extravagant fancies, adopted the opinion of the German doctors, and composed an elaborate treatise to prove that CHRIST was born, without his mother's womb being opened, in the same manner as he came into the chamber where his disciples were assembled after his resurrection, though the door was shut. He also charged those who held the opinion of RATRAMN with denying the virginity of MARY. This fruitless dispute was soon hushed, and gave place to controversies of superior moment [t].

The first controversy between the Greeks and Latins on the account of Photius.

XXVII. Of all the controversies that divided Christians in this century the most interesting, though at the same time the most lamentable, was that which occasioned the fatal schism between the Greek and Latin churches. A vindictive and jealous spirit of animosity and contention had, for a long time, prevailed between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople, and had sometimes broke out into acts of violence and rage. The ambition and fury of these contending prelates grew still more keen and vehement about the time of LEO the Isaurian, when the bishops of Constantinople, seconded by the power and authority of the emperors, withdrew from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiffs many provinces, over which they had hitherto exercised a spiritual dominion [u]. But in this century they arose to an enormous height and broke forth into a most dreadful flame, in the year 858 [w], when the learned PHOTIUS was chosen patriarch of Constantinople, by the emperor MICHAEL, in the place of IGNATIUS, whom that prince drove from his see and sent into exile. For this violent proceeding, though it was justified and applauded by a council assembled at Constantinople in the year 861, was far from being attended with a general approbation. IGNATIUS appealed from this council to the

[t] See LUCAS DACHERIUS, his *Spicilegium veterum Scriptorum*, tom. i. p. 396.—MABILLON, *Præf. ad Sac. iv. Benedicte*, part II. p. 51.

[u] See GIANNONE, *Histoire de Naples*, tom. i. p. 535. 646.—PETR. DE MARCA, *De concordia sacerdotii et imperii*, lib. i. cap. i. p. 6.—LEQUIEN, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 96.

[w] In the original there stands 852, but as this is probably an error of the press, the translator has taken the liberty to correct it in the text.

Roman pontif NICOLAS I, who espoused his interests, and, in a council assembled at *Rome* A. D. 862, excommunicated PHOTIUS as unlawfully elected; and his abettors for having been concerned in such an unrighteous cause. The new patriarch, however, was so far from being terrified or dejected by this excommunication, that he returned the compliment to the Roman pontif, and, in a council assembled at *Constantinople*, in the year 866, he declared NICOLAS unworthy both of the place he held in the church, and also of being admitted to the communion of Christians.

XXVIII. The Roman pontif alledged a specious pretext for his appearing in this matter with such violence and exciting such unhappy commotions in the church. This pretext was the innocence of IGNATIUS, whom, upon an accusation of treason, whether true or false, the emperor had degraded from his patriarchal dignity. This, however, was but a mere pretext; ambition and interest were the true, though secret springs, that directed the motions of NICOLAS, who would have borne with patience, nay, beheld with indifference the unjust sufferings of IGNATIUS, could he but have recovered from the Greeks the provinces of *Illyricum, Macedonia, Epirus, Achaia, Thessaly*, and *Sicily*, which the emperor and PHOTIUS had removed from the jurisdiction of the Roman pontif. Before he engaged in the cause of IGNATIUS, he sent a solemn embassy to *Constantinople* to demand the restitution of these provinces; but his demand was rejected with contempt. And hence, under pretence of avenging the injuries committed against IGNATIUS, he indulged without restraint his own private resentment, and thus covered with the mask of justice the fury of disappointed ambition and avarice.

XXIX. While things were in this troubled state, and the flame of controversy was growing more violent from day to day, BASILIUS the Macedonian, who, by the murder of his predecessor, had paved his way to the imperial throne, calmed at once these tumults, and restored peace to the church, by recalling IGNATIUS from exile to the high station from which he had been degraded, and by confining PHOTIUS in a monastery. This imperial act of authority was solemnly approved and confirmed by a council assembled at *Constantinople* in the year 869, in

A second
contest concerning the
same person.
Photius degraded.

which the legates of the Roman pontif ADRIAN II, had great influence, and were treated with the highest marks of distinction [x]. The Latins acknowledge this assembly as the VIIIth *oecumenical* council, and in it the religious contests between them and the Greeks were concluded, or at least hushed and suspended. But the controversy concerning the authority of the Roman pontifs, the limits of their ghostly empire, and particularly their jurisdiction in *Bulgaria*, still subsisted, nor could all the efforts of papal ambition engage either IGNATIUS or the emperor to give up *Bulgaria* or any other province to the see of *Rome*.

XXX. The contest that had arisen between the Greeks and Latins concerning the elevation of PHOTIUS was of such a nature, as to admit of an easy and effectual remedy. But the haughty and ambitious spirit of this learned and ingenious patriarch fed the flame of discord instead of extinguishing it, and unhappily perpetuated the troubles and divisions of the Christian church. In the year 866, he added to the see of *Constantinople* the province of *Bulgaria*, with which the pontif NICOLAS had formed the design of augmenting his own spiritual dominions, and was most bitterly provoked at missing his aim. PHOTIUS went yet farther; and entered into measures every way unworthy of his character and station; for he not only sent a circular letter to the Oriental patriarchs to engage them to espouse his private cause, as the public and momentous cause of the church, but drew up a most violent charge of heresy against the Roman bishops, who had been sent among the new-converted Bulgarians, and against the church of *Rome* in general. The articles of corrupt doctrine, or heresy, which this imperious and exasperated prelate brought against the Romans, were as follow: *First*, That they fasted on the *Sabbath*, or seventh day of the week. *Secondly*, That in the first week of Lent they permitted the use of milk and cheese. *Thirdly*, That they prohibited their priests to marry, and separated from their wives such as were married, when they went into orders [y]. *Fourthly*, That they maintained that the bishops a-

[x] The writers, on both sides of this controversy, are enumerated by FABRICIUS, in his *Bibl. Græca*, vol. iv. c. xxxviii. p. 372.

[y] PHOTIUS attributes to this forced and unnatural celibacy of the clergy that multitude of children whose fathers were unknown. Remarkable to this purpose is the following passage from a book of lone

lone were authorised to anoint with the holy chrism baptized persons, and that they, of consequence, who had been anointed by presbyters, were obliged to receive that unction a second time from the hand of a bishop. *Lastly*, That they had adulterated the symbol or creed of *Constantinople*, by adding to it the words *filioque*, i. e. *and from the son*, and were therefore of opinion that the HOLY SPIRIT did not proceed from the Father only, but also from the Son [z]. NICOLAS I, finding the Roman church thus attacked, sent the articles of this accusation to HINCMAR and the other Gallican bishops in the year 867, desiring them to assemble their respective suffragans in order to examine and answer the reproach of PHOTIUS. Pursuant to this exhortation of the pontif, ODO, AENEAS, and ANDO bishops of *Beauvais*, *Paris*, and *Vienne*, as also the celebrated RATRAMN stepped forth gallantly into the field of controversy against the Greeks, answered one by one the accusations of PHOTIUS, and employed the whole force of their erudition and zeal in maintaining the cause of the Latin churches [a].

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

XXXI. Upon the death of IGNATIUS, which happened in the year 878, the emperor took PHOTIUS into favour, and placed him again at the head of the Greek church in the patriarchal dignity from whence he had fallen. This restoration of the degraded patriarch was agreed to by the Roman pontif JOHN VIII, upon condition, however, that PHOTIUS would permit the Bulgarians to come under the jurisdiction of the see of *Rome*. The latter promised to satisfy in this the demands of the pontif, to which the

Restored to
his see.

ALVARUS DELAGIUS, bishop of *Sylva* in *Portugal*, *De Planctu Ecclesie*; *It were to be wished*, says he, *that the clergy had never vowed chastity, especially the clergy of Spain, where the sons of the laity are not much more numerous than the sons of the clergy.*

[z] See the letter of PHOTIUS in the collection published by bishop MONTAGUE, N. II. p. 47. Other writers mention ten heads of accusation brought against PHOTIUS, but such do not distinguish between the first and second controversy that arose between the Greeks and Latins, and they add to the articles, with which this patriarch was charged, those that were drawn up in the time of MICHAEL CERULARIUS. Certain it is, that in the epistle of PHOTIUS, which relates only to the first controversy, and is the only criterion by which we ought to judge of it, there are no more heads of accusation than the five which we have enumerated in the text.

[a] MABILLON, *Præf. ad Sac. iv. Bened. part II. p. 55.*

CENT.
IX.
PART II.

emperor also seemed to consent [b] ; and hence it was that JOHN VIII sent legates to the council which was held at *Constantinople* A. D. 879, by whom he declared his approbation of the Acts of that assembly, and acknowledged PHOTIUS as his brother in CHRIST. The promises, however, of the emperor and the patriarch were far from being accomplished ; for after this council the former, most probably by the advice, or at least with the consent of the latter, refused to transfer the province of *Bulgaria* to the Roman pontif ; and it must be confessed that this refusal was founded upon most weighty and important reasons. The pontif, notwithstanding, was highly irritated at this disappointment, and sent MARINUS to *Constantinople* in the character of legate, to declare that he had changed his mind concerning PHOTIUS, and that he entirely approved of the sentence of excommunication that had been formerly given against him. The legate, upon delivering this disagreeable message, was cast into prison by the emperor, but was afterwards set free ; and being raised to the Pontificate upon the death of JOHN VIII, recalled the remembrance of this injurious treatment, and levelled a new sentence of condemnation against PHOTIUS.

XXXII. This sentence was treated with contempt by the haughty patriarch ; but about six years after this period, he experienced anew the fragility of sublunary grandeur and elevation by a fall which concluded his prosperous days. For in the year 886, LEO, surnamed the *Philosopher*, the son and successor of BASILIUS, deposed him from the patriarchal see, and confined him in an Armenian monastery, where he died in the year 891. The death of PHOTIUS, who was the only author of the schisms that divided the Greeks and Latins, might have been an occasion of removing these unhappy contests, and of restoring peace and concord in the church, if the Roman pontiffs had not been regardless of the demands of equity, as well as of the duty of Christian moderation. But these imperious lords of the church indulged their vindictive zeal beyond all measure, and would be satisfied with nothing less than the degradation of all the priests and bishops, who

[b] MICH. LE QUIEN, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. i. p. 103.

had been ordained by PHOTIUS. The Greeks, on the other hand, were shocked at the arrogance of these unjust pretensions, and would not submit to them on any conditions. Hence a spirit of resentment and irritation renewed the spirit of dispute, which had been happily declining; religious, as well as civil contests were again set on foot; new controversies were added to the old, until the fatal schism took place, which produced a lasting and total separation between the Greek and Latin church.

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the church during this century.

I. **T**HAT religious rites and ceremonies were multiplied from day to day appears evidently from the labours of those writers who began in this century to explain to the ignorant multitude their origin, their nature, and the purposes they served; for the multiplicity alone of these religious rites could render the explication of them necessary. JOHANNES SCOTUS, ANGELOME, REMI, or REMIGIUS, bishop of Auxerre, and WALAFRIDUS STRABO were the principal authors, who distinguished themselves in this species of sacred literature, to whom we may add AMALARIUS, many of whose explanations were, however, refuted by AGOBARD and FLORUS. Their works are generally entitled *De Officiis Divinis*, for in the style of this age religious ceremonies were called by that name. The labours of these pious and learned men in illustrating the *ritual* were undoubtedly undertaken with good intentions; but their utility may be well called into question; and it would be bold to affirm that they were not as prejudicial to the church in some respects as they might be advantageous to it in others. Their books afforded, indeed, a certain sort of spiritual nourishment to the minds of christians in their attendance upon public worship; but this nourishment was both coarse and unwholesome. The reasons alledged for the ceremonies in vogue at this time in the church, and the purposes they were supposed to answer, were, for the most part, not only far fetched, childish, and ridiculous, but also bore the strongest marks

Several writers explain the origin of the rites and ceremonies now used in the church.

CENT.
IX.
PART II.

A general
account of
these rites.

of forgery and fiction. It is also farther observable, that these illustrations not only encouraged, but augmented prodigiously, and that to the detriment of real piety, the veneration and zeal of the multitude for external rites and ceremonies. For who would dare to refuse their admiration and reverence to institutions, which they were taught to consider as full of the most mysterious wisdom, and founded upon the most pious and affecting reasons?

II. It would be endless to enter into an exact enumeration of the various rites and ceremonies, which were now introduced, for the first time, and of which some were adopted by the whole body of Christians, and others only by certain churches. We shall therefore dismiss this matter with the general account which follows, and point out in the notes the sources from whence the curious reader may derive a more particular knowledge of the absurdities of this superstitious age. The carcases of the saints transported from foreign countries, or discovered at home by the industry and diligence of pious or designing priests, not only obliged the rulers of the church to augment the number of festivals or holidays already established, but also to diversify the ceremonies in such a manner, that each saint might have his peculiar worship. And as the authority and credit of the clergy depended much upon the high notion which was generally entertained of the virtue and merit of the saints they had canonized, and presented to the multitude as objects of religious veneration, it was necessary to amuse and surprize the people by a variety of pompous and striking ceremonies, by images and such like inventions, in order to keep up and nourish their stupid admiration for the saintly tribe. Hence the splendor and magnificence, that were lavished upon the churches in this century, and the prodigious number of costly pictures and images, with which they were adorned; hence the stately altars, which were enriched with the noblest inventions of painting and sculpture, and illuminated with innumerable tapers at noon day; hence the multitude of processions, the gorgeous and splendid garments of the priests, and the *masses*, that were celebrated in honour of the saints [c]. Among other novelties the feast of All-

[c] See Jo. FECHT *Liber Singularis de Missis in honorem Sanctorum.*

Saints was added, in this century, by GREGORY IV, to the Latin calendar [d]; and the festival of St. MICHAEL, which had been long kept with the greatest marks of devotion and respect by the Orientals and Italians, began now to be observed more zealously and universally among the Latin Christians [e].

III. Nor was it only in the solemn acts of religious worship that superstition reigned with an unlimited sway; its influence extended even to the affairs of private life, and was observable in the civil transactions of men, particularly among the Latin Christians, who retained with more obstinacy than the Greeks a multitude of customs, which derived their origin from the sacred rites of paganism. The barbarous nations, which were converted to christianity, could not support the thoughts of abandoning altogether the laws and manners of their ancestors, however inconsistent they might be with the indispensable demands of the gospel; nay, they persuaded, on the contrary, the Christians among whom they lived, to imitate their extravagant superstition in this respect. And this was the true and original source of those barbarous institutions that prevailed among the Latins, during this and the following century, such as the various methods by which it was usual for persons accused to prove their innocence in doubtful cases, either by the trial of cold water [f],

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

Superstition
insinuates
itself into
the transac-
tions of ci-
vil life.

[d] See MABILLON, *De re Diplomatica*, p. 537.

[e] The holidays, or festivals, of the saints were as yet but few in number among the Latins, as appears from a poem of FLORUS, published by MARTENE in the vth volume of his *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* p. 595.

[f] All these were presumptuous attempts to force the divine providence to declare itself miraculously in favour of the truth. In the trial of *cold water*, the person accused had the right foot and the left hand bound together, and was, in this posture, thrown naked into the water. If he sunk, he was acquitted; but if he floated upon the surface, this was considered as an evidence of guilt. The most respectable authors, ancient and modern, attribute the invention of this superstitious trial to pope EUGENIUS II. and it is somewhat surprizing that Mr. BOWER has taken no notice of it in his history of that pontif. BALUZIUS has inserted, in the 2d volume of his *Capitularia*, the solemn forms of prayer and protestation, that EUGENIUS had caused to be drawn up as an introduction to this superstitious practice, and FLEURY and SPANHEIM look upon that pontif as its first inventor. On the other hand, father LE BRUN, a priest of the oratory, maintains (in his *Histoire Critique des Pr*-
by

by single combat [g], by the fire ordeal [h], and by the cross [i]. It is no longer a question in our days, from

tiques Superstitieuses, tom. ii. p. 140, &c. edit. d' Amsterdam) that this custom was much more ancient than EUGENIUS, and his reasons are not unworthy of attention. Be that as it may, this custom was condemned and abrogated at the request, or rather, by the authority of LEWIS the MEEK about the year 829. It was however revived afterwards, and was practised in the x. xi. and xiith centuries, as we shall see in the progress of this history. For an account of the trial of *cold water*, Dr. MOSHEIM refers us, in a note, to MABILLON's *Analecra veteris ævi*, tom. i. p. 47. and ROYE's *De missis dominicis*, p. 152.

The trial by *duel*, or single combat, was introduced towards the conclusion of the vth century by GONDEBAUD, king of the Burgundians, after that the abuse of oaths had occasioned the most horrible perjuries, and opened a door to all sorts of injustice. The *duel* was then added to the oath by GONDEBAUD; the successful combatant was supposed to be in the right, and this barbarous test of truth and justice was, in spite of humanity and common sense, adopted by the Lombards, French, and Germans, and derived from them to other nations. It was prohibited first in the year 855, in the third council of *Valence* in *Dauphiny*.

The *fire ordeal* was practised in various ways. The accused either held a burning ball of iron in his hand, or was obliged to walk bare-foot upon heated plow-shares, whose number was increased in proportion to the number or enormity of the crimes imputed to him; and sometimes a glove of red-hot iron was used on this occasion, as we see in the xth book of the history of *Denmark*, by SAXON the *Grammarian*. If in these trials the person impeached remained unhurt, and discovered no signs of pain, he was discharged as innocent; otherwise he was punished as guilty. The first account we have of Christians appealing to this kind of trial as a proof of their innocence, is that of SIMPLICIUS, bishop of *Autun*, who lived in the ivth century. This prelate, as the story goes, before his promotion to the episcopal order, had married a wife who loved him tenderly, and who, unwilling to quit him after his advancement, continued to sleep in the same chamber with her spouse. The sanctity of SIMPLICIUS suffered, at least in the voice of fame, by the constancy of his wife's affection, and it was rumoured about, that the holy man, though a bishop, persisted in opposition to the ecclesiastical canons to taste the sweets of matrimony. Upon which the dame, in presence of a great concourse of people, took up a considerable quantity of burning coals, which she held in her cloaths, and applied to her breast, without the least hurt to her person or damage to her garments, as the legend says, and her example being followed by her husband with like success, the silly multitude admired the miracle, and proclaimed the innocence of the loving pair. BRICIUS, or St. BRICE (whom Mr. COLLIER, in his *Ecclesiastical History of England*, vol. i. p. 231. represents by mistake as the first christian who endeavoured to clear himself in this way) played a trick of much the same nature in the fifth century.

whence

whence these methods of deciding dubious cases and accusations derived their origin; all agree that they were mere delusions, drawn from the barbarous rites of paganism [k], and not only opposite to the precepts of the gospel, but absolutely destructive of the spirit of true religion. The pontifs, however, and the inferior clergy encouraged these odious superstitions, and went so far as to accompany the practice of them with the celebration of the Lord's supper and other rites, in order to give them a christian aspect, and to recommend them to the veneration and confidence of the multitude.

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II

C H A P. V.

Concerning the divisions and heresies that troubled the church during this Century.

I. T H E sects, that had sprung up in the earlier ages of the church, subsisted still, without almost any change in their situations or circumstances that is worthy of mention. Such of them as were considerably numer-

The ancient sects still in being.

The trial by the *cross* was made by obliging the contending parties to stretch out their arms, and he that continued the longest in this posture gained his cause.]

[g] JO. LOCCENII *Antiquit. Sueo-Gothicæ*, lib. ii. cap. vii. viii. p. 144. This barbarous method of deciding controversies by *duel* was practised even by the clergy. See JUST. HEN. BÖEMERI *Jus Eccles. Protestantium*, tom. v. p. 88.

[b] PETR. LAMBECIUS, *Rerum Hamburg.* lib. ii. p. 39.—USSERII *Sylloge Epistol. Hibernic.* p. 81.—JOHNSON, *Leges Eccles. Britannicæ*.—MICHEL DE LA ROCHE, *Memoires Litter. de la Grande Bretagne*, tom. viii. p. 391.

[i] See AGOBARDUS, *Contra Judicium Dei*, tom. i. opp. et *Contra legem Gundobadi*, cap. ix. p. 114.—HIER. BIGNONIUS, *Ad formulas Marculphi*, cap. xii.—BALUZIUS, *Ad Agobardum*. p. 104.

[k] STRABO tells us in the vth book of his *Geography*, that while the sacred rites of the goddess *Feronia* were celebrated in a grove not far from mount *Soracte*, several persons, transported with the imaginary presence of this pretended divinity, fell into fits of enthusiasm, and walked bare-footed over heaps of burning coals without receiving the least damage. The historian adds, that a spectacle so extraordinary drew a prodigious concourse of people to this annual solemnity. PLINY relates something of the same nature concerning the *Hirpii*. See his *Nat. Hist.* book vii. ch. ii.]

ous

CENT.
IX.
PART II.

ous, fixed their settlements beyond the limits both of the Greek and Latin empires, and thus out of the reach of their enemies. The Nestorians more especially and the Monophysites, secure under the protection of the Arabians, were extremely industrious in maintaining their credit, and also discovered a warm and active zeal in the propagation of Christianity among those who were yet unacquainted with that divine religion. Some learned men are of opinion, that it was only in this century that the Abyssinians or Ethiopians embraced the sentiments of the Monophysites in consequence of the exhortations addressed to them by the doctors of that sect who resided in *Egypt*. But this is undoubtedly a wrong account of the matter; for it is certain, that the Abyssinians, who were accustomed to receive their spiritual guide from the bishop of *Alexandria*, commenced Monophysites in the VIIth century if not sooner. For in that period the Arabians made themselves masters of *Egypt*, oppressed the Greeks, and granted to the Monophysites such a powerful protection, as enabled them to reduce under their jurisdiction almost all the churches that had been established in *Egypt* [l].

The Paulicians.

II. The Greeks, during the greatest part of this century, were engaged in a most bitter controversy, or, to speak more properly, in a bloody and barbarous war with the Paulicians, a sect that may be considered as a branch of the Manichæans, and which resided principally in *Armenia*. This pernicious sect is said to have been formed in *Armenia* by two brothers, PAUL and JOHN, sons of CALLINICES, and inhabitants of *Samosatena*, from the former of whom it derives its names; though others are of opinion, that the Paulicians were so called from another PAUL, an Armenian by birth, who lived under the reign of JUSTINIAN II [m]. Be that as it may, a certain zealot called CONSTANTINE revived, in the VIIIth century, under the government of CONSTANS, this drooping faction, which had suffered deeply from the violence of its adversaries, and was ready to expire under the severity of the

[l] *Nouveaux Memoires de la Compagnie de Jesus dans le Levant* tom. iv. p. 283. 284.—LE GRAND, *Differt.* iv.—LOBO, *Voyage Historique de l'Abyssinie*, tom. ii. p. 18.

[m] PHOTIUS, lib. i. *Contra Manichæos*, p. 74. in B. WOLFFII. *Anecdotes Græcis*, tom. i.

imperial edicts, and of those penal laws which were executed against its adherents with the utmost rigour. CONSTANS, JUSTINIAN II, and LEO the Isaurian, exerted their zeal against the Paulicians with a peculiar degree of bitterness and fury, and left no method of oppression unemployed, no means of accomplishing their ruin that were not put in execution; but their efforts were ineffectual, nor could all their power, nor all their barbarity exhaust the patience, or conquer the obstinacy of that inflexible people, who, with a fortitude worthy of a better cause, made light of the calamities to which their erroneous doctrine exposed them. The face of things changed, however, to their advantage towards the commencement of this century, and their affairs carried a more prosperous aspect under the protection of the emperor NICEPHORUS, who favoured them in a particular manner, and restored to them their civil privileges, as well as their religious liberty [n].

III. Their tranquillity, however, was but of short duration; it was a transient scene that was soon to be succeeded by yet more dreadful sufferings than they had hitherto experienced. The cruel rage of persecution, which had for some years been suspended, broke forth with redoubled violence under the reigns of MICHAEL CUROPALATES, and LEO the Armenian, who caused the strictest search to be made after the Paulicians in all the provinces of the Grecian empire, and inflicted capital punishment upon such of them as refused to return to the bosom of the church. This rigorous decree turned the affliction of the Paulicians, who dwelt in *Armenia*, into vengeance, and drove them into the most desperate measures. They massacred THOMAS, bishop of *New Cæsarea*, and also the magistrates and judges which the emperors had established in *Armenia*; and after avenging themselves thus cruelly, they took refuge in the countries that were governed by the Saracens, and from thence infested the neighbouring states of *Greece* with perpetual incursions [o]. After these reciprocal acts of cruelty and vengeance, the Paulicians, as it would seem, enjoyed an interval of tranquillity, and returned to their habitations in the Grecian provinces.

Persecuted
anew.

[n] See GEORG. CEDRENIUS, *Compend. Historiar.* tom. ii. p. 379. Edit. Paris.

[o] PHOTIUS, lib. i. *Contra Manichæos*, p. 125.—PETRI SICULI *Historia Manichæorum*, p. 71.

CENT.
IX.
PART II.

The fate of
the Paulici-
ans under
Theodora.

IV. But the most dreadful scene of persecution and bloodshed that was exhibited against these wretched heretics, arose from the furious and inconsiderate zeal of the empress THEODORA. This impetuous woman, who was regent of the empire during the minority of her son, issued out a decree, which placed the Paulicians in the perplexing alternative, either of abandoning their principles, or of perishing by fire and sword. The decree was severe, but the cruelty, with which it was put in execution by those who were sent into *Armenia* for that purpose, was horrible beyond expression; for these ministers of wrath, after confiscating the goods of above an hundred thousand of that miserable people, put their possessors to death in the most barbarous manner, and made them expire slowly in a variety of the most exquisite tortures. Such as escaped destruction fled for protection and refuge to the Saracens, who received them with compassion and humanity, and permitted them to build a city for their residence, which was called *Tibrica*. Upon this, they entered into a league with the Saracens, and, chusing for their chief an officer of the greatest resolution and valour, whose name was CARBEAS, they declared against the Greeks a war which was carried on with the utmost vehemence and fury. This bloody war continued during this whole century; the victory seemed often doubtful, but the slaughter was terrible, and the numbers, that perished on both sides, prodigious. Many of the Grecian provinces felt, in a more particular manner, the dire effects of this cruel contest, and exhibited the most moving scenes of desolation and misery [p]. During these commotions, some Paulicians,

[p] GEORG. CEDRENUS, *Compend. Hist.* p. 541. *Ed. Paris.* p. 425. *Ed. Venet.* p. 547, et 429, &c.—ZONARAS, *Annal.* lib. xvi. tom. ii. p. 122. *Ed. Venet.* The principal authors who have given accounts of the Paulicians are PHOTIUS, lib. i. *Contra Manichæos*, and PETRUS SICULUS, whose history of the Manichæans was published in Greek and Latin at *Ingoldstadt*, in 1604, by MATTH. RADERUS. By the account of PETRUS SICULUS that is given by himself, we learn that in the year 870, under the reign of BASILIUS the Macedonian, he was sent ambassador to the Paulicians at *Tibrica*, to treat with them concerning the exchange of prisoners, and lived among them during the space of nine months; this is sufficient to give us a high idea of the power and prosperity of the Paulicians at that time. It is from this eminent writer, that CEDRENUS seems to have taken

towards

towards the conclusion of this century, spread abroad among the Bulgarians their pestilential doctrines, which were received with docility, and took root speedily, as might naturally be expected, among a barbarous people that were but lately made converts to the Christian faith [q].

C E N T.
IX.
P A R T II.

V. The Greeks treated the Paulicians, of whom we have been now speaking, as Manichæans; though, if we may credit the testimony of PHOTIUS, the Paulicians expressed the utmost abhorrence of MANES and his doctrine [r]. Most evident it is, that they were not altogether Manichæans, though they embraced some opinions that resembled certain tenets of that abominable sect. They had not, like the Manichæans, an ecclesiastical government administered by bishops, priests, and deacons: they had no sacred order of men distinguished by their manner of life, their habit, or any other circumstance from the rest of the assembly: nor had councils, synods, or such like institutions any place in their religious polity. They had certain doctors whom they called *Sunecdemi*, i. e. companions in the journey of life, and also *Notarii*. Among these there reigned a perfect equality, and they had no peculiar rights, privileges, nor any external mark of dignity to distinguish them from the people [s]. The only fir-

Whether or
not the Pau-
licians were
Manichæ-
ans.

what he has advanced in his *Compend. Hist.* p. 431. What we learn concerning the Paulicians from more modern writers, such as BAYLE, in his *Dictionary*, and B. JO. CHRIST. WOLFIUS, in his *Manichæismus ante Manichæos*, p. 247. seems to be derived from BOSSUET's *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, tom. ii. p. 129. But this authority is highly exceptionable; for BOSSUET himself did not consult the true sources of knowledge upon this point, and, what is still worse, the spirit of party seems manifestly to have led him into voluntary errors.

[q] It is not improbable that there are yet in *Thrace* and *Bulgaria*, Paulicians, or Paulians as they are called by some. It appears at least certain, that in the last century some of that sect still subsisted, and dwelt at *Nicopolis*, as we learn from the testimony of URB. CERRI, in his *Etat present de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 72. who tells us, that PETER DEODATI, archbishop of *Sophia*, caused them to abandon their errors, and return to the catholic faith; but whether this latter part of the account be true or false, is more than we shall pretend to determine.

[r] PHOTIUS, lib. i. *Contra Manichæos*, p. 17. 56. 65.—PETR. SICULUS, *Hist. Manich.* p. 43.

[s] PHOTIUS, l. c. p. 31, 32.—PETR. SICUL. p. 44.—CEDRE-
NUS, l. c. p. 431.

gularity

CENT.
IX.
PART II.

gularity that attended their promotion to the rank of doctors was, that they changed their lay-names for scripture ones, as if there had been something peculiarly venerable in the names of the holy men, whose lives and actions are recorded in the sacred writings. They received all the books of the New Testament, except the Two Epistles of St. PETER, which they rejected for reasons unknown to us; and their copies of the Gospel were exactly the same with those used by all other Christians, without the least interpolation of the sacred text; in which respect also they differed considerably from the Manichæans [*t*]. They moreover recommended to the people without exception, and that with the most affecting and ardent zeal, the constant and assiduous perusal of the holy scriptures, and expressed the utmost indignation against the Greeks, who allowed to the priests alone an access to these sacred fountains of divine knowledge [*u*]. In explaining, however, the doctrines of the gospel, they often departed from the literal sense, and the natural signification of the words, and interpreted them in a forced and allegorical manner, when they opposed their favorite opinions and tenets [*w*]; and such more especially were the delusive and erroneous explications, which they gave of what is said in the gospel concerning the institutions of baptism and the Lord's supper, and the divine authority of the Old Testament, all which they obstinately rejected. Besides the books of the New Testament, they treated with a particular veneration certain epistles of SERGIUS; the most eminent and illustrious doctor of their sect.

The opinions of the Paulicians.

VI. None of the Greek writers have given a complete view of the Paulician system, which was undoubtedly composed of a great variety of tenets; they content themselves with mentioning six monstrous errors, which, in their estimation, rendered the Paulicians unworthy of enjoying either the comforts of this world, or the happiness of the next. These errors are as follows: "1. They deny
" that this inferior and visible world is the production of
" the supreme Being, and they distinguish the creator of

[*t*] PHOTIUS, l. c. p. 11.—PETR. SICUL. p. 19.

[*u*] PHOTIUS, l. c. p. 101.—PETR. SICUL. p. 57.

[*w*] PHOTIUS, l. c. p. 12.

“this world and of human bodies from the most high God, who dwells in the heavens.” It was principally on account of this odious doctrine, which was, however, adopted by all the Gnostic sects, that the Paulicians were looked upon as Manichæans by the Greeks. But what their sentiments were concerning the Creator of this world, and whether or not they considered him as a Being distinct from the evil principle, are matters that no writer has hitherto explained in a satisfactory manner. We learn only from PHOTIUS, that, according to the Paulician doctrine, the *evil principle* was engendered by *darkness* and *fire*: from whence it plainly follows that he was neither self-originated, nor eternal [x]. “2. They treated contemptuously the Virgin MARY;” that is to say, according to the manner of speaking usual among the Greeks, they refused to adore and worship her. They maintained, indeed, that CHRIST was the son of MARY, and was born of her (although they maintained, as appears from the express testimony of their adversaries, that the divine Saviour brought with him from heaven his human nature, and that MARY, after the birth of CHRIST, had other children by JOSEPH); they only fell into the sentiments of the Valentinians, and held that CHRIST passed through the womb of the Virgin, as the pure stream of limpid water passes through a conduit, and that MARY did not preserve her virginity to the end of her days; all which assertions the Greeks rejected with the utmost antipathy and abhorrence. “3. They refused to celebrate the holy

[x] PHOTIUS, lib. ii. *Contra Manichæos*, p. 147. It is evident, beyond all contradiction, that the Paulicians, in imitation of the Oriental philosophers, from whom the Gnostics and Manichæans derived their origin, considered *eternal matter*, as the seat and the source of all evil; but they believed at the same time, like many of the Gnostics, that this *matter*, endued from all eternity with life and motion, had produced an active principle, which was the fountain of vice, misery, and disorder. This principle, according to them, is the author of all material substances: while God is the creator and father of spirits. These tenets resemble, no doubt, the Manichæan doctrine; yet they differ from it in several points. It appears most probable, that the Paulicians were a branch of some of the ancient Gnostic sects, which were extremely numerous and diversified, and which, though persecuted and oppressed from age to age in the most rigorous manner by many emperors, could never be entirely suppressed, nor totally extirpated.

CENT.
IX.
PART II.

“institution of the Lord’s supper ;” for as they looked upon many precepts and injunctions of the gospel to be of a merely figurative and parabolical nature, so they understood by the bread and wine, which CHRIST is said to have administered to his disciples at his last supper, the divine discourses and exhortations of the Saviour, which are a spiritual food and nourishment to the soul, and fill it with repose, satisfaction, and delight [y]. “ 4. They “ loaded the cross of CHRIST with contempt and reproach ;” by which we are only to understand, that they refused to follow the absurd and superstitious practice of the Greeks, who paid to the pretended wood of the cross, a certain sort of religious homage. As the Paulicians believed that CHRIST was clothed with an ethereal, impassible, and celestial body, they could by no means grant that he was *really* nailed to the cross, or that he expired, in effect, upon that ignominious tree : and hence naturally arose that treatment of the cross of which the Greeks accused them. “ 5. They rejected, after the “ example of the greatest part of the Gnostics, the books “ of the Old Testament, and looked upon the writers of “ that sacred history, as inspired by the creator of this “ world, and not by the supreme God. 6. They excluded presbyters and elders from all part in the administration of the church.” By this, however, no more can be meant, than that they refused to call their doctors by the name of *Presbyters*, a name which had its origin among the Jews, and was peculiar to that odious people, who persecuted JESUS CHRIST, and attempted, as the Paulicians speak, to put him to death [z].

[y] The Greeks do not charge the Paulicians with any error concerning *baptism* ; it is however certain, that the accounts of that sacred institution, which are given in scripture, were allegorically explained by this extravagant sect ; and PHOTIUS, in his *First Book against the Manichæans*, p. 29. expressly asserts, that the Paulicians treated baptism as a mere allegorical ceremony, and by the baptismal water understood the *gospel*.

[z] These six famous errors of the Paulicians I have taken from the Manichæan history of PETRUS SICULUS, with whom PHOTIUS and CEDRENIUS agree, although their accounts of these opinions be less perspicuous and distinct. The explanatory remarks that I have added, are the result of my own reflexions upon the Paulician system, and the doctrine of the Greeks.

THE TENTH CENTURY. PART I.

The External HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the prosperous events that happened to the church during this century.

I. **T**HE deplorable state of christianity in this century, arising partly from that astonishing ignorance that gave a loose rein both to superstition and immorality, and partly from an unhappy concurrence of causes of another kind, is unanimously lamented by the various writers, who have transmitted to us the history of these miserable times. Yet amidst all this darkness some gleams of light were perceived from time to time, and several occurrences happened, which deserve a place in the prosperous annals of the church. The Nestorians in *Chaldæa* extended their spiritual conquests beyond mount *Imaus*, and introduced the Christian religion into *Tartary*, properly so called, whose inhabitants had hitherto lived in their natural state of ignorance and ferocity, uncivilized and savage. The same successful missionaries spread, by degrees, the knowledge of the gospel among that most powerful nation of the Turks, or Tartars, which went by the name of *Karit*, and bordered on *Kathay*, or on the northern part of *China* [a]. The laborious in-

C E N T.
X.
P A R T II.

The propagation of the Christian religion.

[a] JOS. SIM. ASSEMANI *Bibliotheca Oriental. Vatic.* tom. iii, part II. p. 482.—HERBELOT, *Bibliothèque Oriental*, p. 256.

E N T.
X.
P A R T I.

dustry of this sect, and their zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith, deserve, no doubt, the highest encomiums; it must, however, be acknowledged, that the doctrine and worship, which they introduced among these Barbarians, were far from being, in all respects, conformable to the precepts of the gospel, or to the true spirit and genius of the Christian religion.

Prester
John.

II. The prince of that country, whom the Nestorians converted to the Christian faith, assumed, if we may give credit to the vulgar tradition, the name of JOHN after his baptism, to which he added the surname of *Presbyter*, from a principle of modesty. Hence it was, as some learned men imagine, that the successors of this monarch retained these names until the time of GENGIS KAN, who flourished in the fourteenth century, and were each of them called PRESTER JOHN [b]. But all this has a very fabulous air; at least, it is advanced without any solid proof; nay, it appears evident, on the contrary, that the famous PRESTER JOHN, who made so much noise in the world, did not begin to reign in that part of *Asia* before the conclusion of the eleventh century. It is, however, certain beyond all contradiction, that the monarchs of the nation called *Karit*, which makes a large part of the empire of the Mogul, and is by some denominated a province of the Turks, and by others a tribe of the Tartars, embraced Christianity in this century; and that a considerable part of *Tartary*, or *Asiatic Scythia*, lived under the spiritual jurisdiction of bishops who were sent among them by the Nestorian pontif [c].

Rollo first
duke of Nor-
mandy con-
verted.

III. If we turn our eyes to the western world, we shall find the gospel making its way with more or less ra-

[b] See ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatic.* tom. iii. part II. p. 282.

[c] The late learned Mr. B. THEOPHILUS SIGEFRED BAYER, in his *Preface to the Museum Sinicum*, p. 145. informed us of his design to give the world an accurate account of the Nestorian churches established in *Tartary* and *China*, drawn from some curious ancient records and monuments, that have not been as yet made public. His work was to have been entitled *Historia Ecclesiarum Sinicarum, et Septentrionalis Asia*; but death prevented the execution of this interesting plan, and also of several others, which this great man had formed, and which would have undoubtedly cast a new light upon the history of the Asiatic Christians.

pidity

pidity through the most rude and uncivilized nations. C E N T.
 The famous arch-pirate ROLLO, son of a Norwegian count, being banished from his native land [d], had, in the preceding century, put himself at the head of a resolute band of Normans, and seized upon one of the maritime provinces of France, from whence he infested the whole country round about with perpetual incursions and depredations. In the year 912, this valiant chief embraced, with his whole army, the Christian faith, and that upon the following occasion: CHARLES the Simple, who wanted both resolution and power to drive this warlike and intrepid invader out of his dominions, was obliged to have recourse to the method of negotiation. He accordingly offered to make over to ROLLO a considerable part of his territories, upon condition that the latter would consent to a peace, espouse his daughter GISELA [e], and embrace Christianity. These terms were accepted by ROLLO without the least hesitation; and his army, following the example of their leader, professed a religion of which they were totally ignorant [f]. These Norman pirates, as appears from many authentic records, were absolutely without religion of every kind, and therefore were not restrained, by the power of prejudice, from embracing a religion which presented to them the most advantageous prospects. They knew no distinction between interest and duty, and they estimated truth and virtue only by the profits with which they were attended. It was from this ROLLO, who received at his baptism the name of ROBERT, that the famous line of Norman dukes derived its origin; for the province of *Bretagne*, and a part of *Neustria*, which CHARLES the Simple conveyed to his son-in-law by a solemn grant, were, from this time, known by the name of *Normandy* [g], which they derived from their new possessors.

[d] HOLBERG *Historia Danorum Navalis in Scriptis Societat. Scient. Hafniens.* part III. p. 357.

[e] Other writers more politely represent the offer of GISELA as one of the methods that CHARLES employed to obtain a peace with ROLLO.

[f] BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 296.—DANIEL, *Hist. de France*, tom. ii. p. 587.

[g] It was *Neustria* properly, and not *Bretagne*, that received the name of *Normandy*, from the Normans who chose ROLLO for their chief.

CENT.
X.
PART I.

The conver-
sion of the
Polish na-
tion.

IV. The Christian religion was introduced into *Poland* by the zealous efforts of female piety. DAMBROWKA, daughter of BOLISLAUS, duke of *Bohemia*, persuaded, by the force of repeated exhortations, her husband MICISLAUS, duke of *Poland*, to abandon paganism, in consequence of which he embraced the gospel, A. D. 965. The account of this agreeable event was no sooner brought to *Rome*, than the pontif, JOHN XIII, sent into *Poland* ÆGIDIUS, bishop of *Tusculum*, attended with a numerous train of ecclesiastics, in order to second the pious efforts of the duke and dutchess, who desired, with impatience, the conversion of their subjects. But the exhortations and endeavours of these devout missionaries, who were unacquainted with the language of the people they came to instruct, would have been entirely without effect, had they not been accompanied with the edicts, and penal laws, the promises and threats of MICISLAUS, which dejected the courage, and conquered the obstinacy of the reluctant Poles. When therefore the fear of punishment, and the hope of reward, had laid the foundations of Christianity in *Poland*, two national archbishops and seven bishops were consecrated to the ministry, whose zeal and labours were followed with such success, that the whole body of the people abandoned, by degrees, their ancient superstitions, and made public profession of the religion of JESUS [b]. It was indeed no more than an external profession; for that inward change of affections and principles, which the gospel requires, was far from being an object of attention in this barbarous age.

The Christian religion
established in
Moscovy.

V. The Christian religion was established in *Russia* by means every way similar to those that had occasioned its propagation in *Poland*; for we must not lay any stress upon the proselytes that were made to Christianity among the Russians in the preceding century; since these conversions were neither permanent nor solid, and since it appears evidently, that such of that nation, as, under the reign of BASILIUS the Macedonian, had embraced the doctrine of the Greek church, relapsed soon after into the

[b] DUGLOSSI *Historia Polonica*, lib. ii. p. 91. lib. iii. p. 95. 239.—REGENVOLSCII *Historia Eccles. Slavon.* lib. i. cap. i. p. 8. —HENR. CANISII *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iii. part I. p. 41.—SOLIGNAC, *Hist. de Pologne*, tom. i. p. 71.

superstition

superstition of their ancestors. WLODOMIR, duke of CENT.
Russia and *Moscow*, married, in the year 961, ANNE, X.
 sister of BASILIUS, the second Grecian emperor of that PART I.
 name; and this zealous princess, by her repeated entreaties, and her pious importunity, persuaded at length her reluctant spouse to receive the Christian faith, and he was accordingly baptized A. D. 987, assuming upon that occasion the name of BASILIUS. The Russians followed spontaneously the example of their prince; we have, at least, no account of any compulsion or violence being employed in their conversion [i], and this is the true date of the entire establishment of Christianity among that people. WLODOMIR and his dutchess were placed in the highest order of the Russian saints, and are still worshiped at *Kiovia*, where they lie interred, with the greatest devotion. The Latins, however, paid no such respect to the memory of WLODOMIR, whom they represent as absolutely unworthy of saintly honours [k].

VI. The Hungarians and Avari had received some faint Andin Hungary.
 notions of Christianity under the reign of CHARLEMAGNE, and in consequence of the measures that had been taken by that zealous prince for the propagation of the gospel. These notions, however, were soon and easily extinguished by various circumstances, which took their rise from the death of CHARLEMAGNE; and it was not before the century, of which we now write, that the Christian religion obtained a fixed settlement among these warlike nations [l]. Towards the middle of this century, BULOSUDES and GYVLA, or GYLAS, two Turkish chiefs, whose governments lay upon the banks of the *Danube* [m], made public profession of Christianity and were baptized at *Constantinople*. The former apostatized soon after to the religion of his ancestors; while the latter not only persevered stedfastly in his new profession, but also shewed the

[i] See ANTON. PAGI *Critica in Baron.* tom. iv. ad A. 987. p. 55. et ad A. 1015. p. 110.—CAR. DU FRESNE, *Familia Byzantina*, p. 143. ed. *Parisi*.

[k] DITMARUS, *Merseb.* lib. vii. *Caronic.* p. 417. tom. i. *Scriptor. Brunsvic. Leibnitii*.

[l] PAULI DEBREZENI *Historia Eccles. Reformat. in Ungaria*, part I. cap. iii. p. 19.

[m] The Hungarians and Transylvanians were, at this time, known to the Grecians by the name of Turks.

CENT.
X.
PART I.

most zealous concern for the conversion of his subjects, who, in consequence of his express order, were instructed in the doctrines and precepts of the gospel by HIEROTHEUS, a learned prelate, by whom he had been accompanied in his journey to *Constantinople*. SAROLTA, the daughter of GYLAS, was afterwards given in marriage to GEYSA, the chief of the Hungarian nation, whom she persuaded to embrace the divine religion in which she had been educated. The faith, however, of this new-converted prince was feeble and unsteady, and he retained a strong propensity to the superstition which he had been engaged to forsake; but his apostasy was prevented by the pious remonstrances of ADALBERT, archbishop of *Prague*, who came into *Hungary* towards the conclusion of this century, and by whom also STEPHEN, the son of GEYSA, was baptized with great pomp and solemnity. It was to this young prince that the gospel was principally indebted for its propagation and establishment among the Hungarians, whose entire conversion was the fruit of his zeal for the cause of CHRIST. For he perfected, what his father and grandfather had only begun; fixed bishops, with large revenues, in various places; erected magnificent temples for divine worship; and, by the influence of instructions, threatnings, rewards, and punishments, he brought his subjects, almost without exception, to abandon the wretched superstition of their idolatrous ancestors. These vigorous proceedings, by which STEPHEN introduced the religion of JESUS among the Hungarians, procured him the most distinguished honours of saintship in succeeding ages [n].

VII. The Christian religion was in a very unsettled state among the Danes under the reign of GORMON, and,

[n] The Greeks, Germans, Bohemians, and Poles, claim each for themselves the peculiar honour of having been the founders of the Christian religion in *Hungary*, and their respective pretensions have introduced not a little obscurity into this matter. The Germans alledge, that the Christian religion was brought into *Hungary* by GISELA, sister to their emperor HENRY II, who, being given in marriage to STEPHEN, the king of that nation, persuaded that prince to embrace the gospel. The Bohemians tell us, on the other hand, that it was by the ministry of ADALBERT, archbishop of *Prague*, that STEPHEN was converted. The Poles affirm, that GEYSA, having married a Christian princess of their nation, viz. ADELHEID, sister to MICISLAS, duke of *Poland*, was induced, by her remonstrances and exhortations, to make profession of Christianity. In consequence of a careful examination of all these pretensions, we

notwithstanding the protection it received from his queen, who professed it publicly, was obliged to struggle with many difficulties, and to encounter much opposition. The face of things changed, indeed, after the death of GORMON. His son HARALD, surnamed *Blaaland*, being defeated by OTHO the Great, A. D. 949, embraced the gospel, and was baptized together with his consort and his son SUENO, or SWEIN, by ADALDAGUS, archbishop of *Hamburg*, or as others alledge, by POPPON, a pious ecclesiastic, who attended the emperor in this expedition. It is probable that HARALD, educated by his mother TYRA, who was a Christian, was not extremely averse to the religion of JESUS; it appears, however, certain, that his conversion was less the effect of his own choice, than of the irresistible commands of his victorious enemy. For OTHO, persuaded that the Danes would never desist from their hostile incursions and rapines, as long as they persevered in the religion of their ancestors, which was so proper to nourish a ferocity of temper, and to animate to military exploits, made it the principal condition of the treaty of peace, which he concluded with HARALD, that both he and his subjects should receive the Christian faith [o]. Upon the conversion of this prince, ADALDAGUS and POPPON employed their ministerial labours among the Cimbrians and Danes, in order to engage them to imitate such an illustrious example; and their exhortations were crowned with remarkable success, to which the stupendous miracles performed by POPPON are said to have contributed in a particular manner. These miracles, indeed, were of such a kind, as manifestly shews that they derived their origin from human art, and not from a divine interposition [p].

have followed the sentiments and decisions of the Greek writers, after having diligently compared them with the Hungarian historians; and we are encouraged in this by the authority of the learned GABRIEL DE JUXTA HORNAD, who, in his *Initia Religionis Christianæ inter Hungaros Ecclesiæ orientali adserta*, published at *Franckfort* in 1740, decides this question in favour of the Greeks. All other accounts of the matter are extremely imperfect, and subject to many doubts and difficulties.

[o] ADAM, *Brem. Histor.* lib. ii. cap. ii, iii. p. 16. cap. xv. p. 20. in LINDENBROGII *Scriptoribus rerum Septentrional.*—ALB. KRANZII *Wandalia*, lib. iv. cap. xx.—LUDWIGII *Reliquiæ Manuscriptor.* tom. ix. p. 10.—PONTOPPIDANI *Annales Ecclesiæ Diplomatici*, tom. i. p. 59.

[p] JO. ADOLPH. CUPRÆI *Annales Episcoporum Slesvic.* cap. xiii. p. 78.—ADAM *Bremens.* lib. ii. cap. xxvi. p. 22 cap. xlv. p. 28.

As

CENT.

X.

PART I.

As long as HARALD lived, he used every wise and probable method of confirming his subjects in the religion they had embraced. For this purpose he established bishops in several parts of his dominions, enacted excellent laws, abrogated superstitious customs, and imposed severe restraints upon all vicious and immoral practices. But after all these pious efforts, and salutary measures, which promised such fair prospects to the rising church, his son SUENO, or SWEIN, apostatized from the truth, and, during a certain time, involved the Christians in the deepest calamity and distress, and treated them with the greatest cruelty and injustice. This persecuting tyrant felt, however, in his turn, the heavy strokes of adversity, which produced a salutary change in his conduct, and happily brought him to a better mind; for being driven from his kingdom, and obliged to seek his safety in a state of exile among the Scots, he embraced anew the religion he had abandoned, and, upon his restoration to his dominions, exerted the most ardent and exemplary zeal in the cause of Christianity, which he endeavoured to promote to the utmost of his power [q].

In Norway.

VIII. It was in this century, that the first dawn of the gospel arose upon the Norwegians, as we learn from the most authentic records. The conversion of that people was attempted, in the year 933, by their monarch HAGEN ADELSTEEN, who had been educated among the English, and who employed certain ecclesiastics of that nation to instruct his subjects in the doctrines of Christianity. But his pious efforts were rendered fruitless by the brutal obstinacy, with which the Norwegians persevered in their ancient prejudices, and the assiduity and zeal with which his successor HARALD GRAUFELDT pursued the same plan of reformation, were also without effect [r]. The succeeding princes, far from being discouraged by these obstacles, persisted firmly in their worthy purpose, and

—JO. STEPHAN. *Ad Saxonem Grammat.* p. 207. — MOLLER. *Introduct. ad Historiam Chersones. Cimbric.* part. II. cap. iii. § 14.

[q] SAXON. *Gramm. Histor. Dan.* lib. x. p. 186. — PONTOPPIDAN, *De gestis et vestigiis Danorum extra Daniam*, tom. ii. cap. i. § 1, 2.

[r] ERIC. PONTOPPIDAN, *Annales Eccles. Danicæ diplomat.* tom. i. p. 66.

HAGS.

HACO, among others, yielding to the entreaties of HARALD, king of *Denmark*, to whom he was indebted for the Norwegian crown, embraced, himself, the Christian religion, and recommended it, with the greatest fervour, to his subjects, in an assembly of the people that was held in the year 945 [s]. This recommendation, notwithstanding the solemnity and zeal with which it was accompanied, made little impression upon the minds of this fierce and barbarous people; nor were they entirely gained over by the zealous endeavours of OLAUS to convert them to Christianity, though the pious diligence of that prince, which procured him the honour of sainthood, was not altogether without effect [t]. But that which gave the finishing stroke to the conversion of the Norwegians was their subjection to SUENON, or SWEIN, king of *Sweden*, who, having defeated their monarch OLAUS TRYGGUESON, became master of *Norway*, and obliged its inhabitants to abandon the gods of their ancestors, and to embrace universally the religion of JESUS [u]. Among the various doctors that were sent to instruct this barbarous

[s] TORM. TORFÆI *Historia Norvegica*, tom. ii. p. 183, 214.

[t] TORFÆUS, l. c. p. 457.

[u] Dr. MOSHEIM attributes here to SWEIN the honour which is due to his predecessor OLAUS TRYGGUESON; if it can be esteemed an honour to have promoted a rational and divine religion by compulsion and violence, by fire and sword. OLAUS, who had abjured paganism in *England*, during his youth, in consequence of a warm and pathetic discourse which he had heard from a British priest, returned to *Norway* with a firm resolution to propagate Christianity throughout his dominions. For this purpose he travelled from one province to another, attended by a chosen band of soldiers, and sword in hand performed the functions of missionary and apostle. His ministry, thus enforced, was followed with the desired success throughout all the provinces, except that of *Drontheim*, which rose in rebellion against him, and attacked Christianity with the same kind of arguments that OLAUS employed in establishing it. This opposition occasioned several bloody battles, which ended, however, in the defeat of the rebels, and of the god THOR, their tutelar deity, whose statue OLAUS dragged from its place, and burnt publicly in the sight of his worshippers. This event dejected the courage of the inhabitants of *Drontheim*, who submitted to the religion and laws of their conqueror. And thus before the reign of SUENON, at least before the defeat of OLAUS by that prince, *Norway* was christian. See *The History of Denmark*, lately published in French by Mr. MALLET, Professor in *Belles Lettres* at *Copenhagen*, vol. i. p. 52, 53.

people,

CEN T.
X.
PART I.

The zeal of
Otho the
Great in the
cause of
Christiani-
ty.

people, the most eminent, both in merit and authority, was GUTHEBALD, an English priest [w]. From Norway, Christianity spread its salutary light through the adjacent countries, and was preached, with success, in the Orkney islands, which were, at this time, subject to the Norwegian kings, and also in Iceland and Old Groenland; for it is evident, from many circumstances and records of undoubted authority, that the greatest part of the inhabitants of these countries had received the gospel in this century [x].

IX. In Germany the pious exploits of OTHO the Great, contributed, in a signal manner, to promote the interest of Christianity, and to fix and establish it upon solid foundations throughout the empire. This truly great prince, whose pious magnanimity clothed him with a lustre infinitely superior to that which he derived from his imperial dignity, was constantly employed in extirpating the remains of the ancient superstitions, and in supporting and confirming the infant church, which in several provinces had not yet arrived to any considerable degree of consistence and vigour. That there might be rulers and pastors to govern the church, and to contribute both by their doctrine and example to the reformation and improvement of an unpolished and illiterate people, he established bishops in several places, and generously erected and endowed the bishoprics of Brandenburg, Havelberg, Meissen, Magdeburg, and Naumburg; by which excellent establishments the church was furnished with eminent doctors from various parts, whose instructions were the occasion of raising up new labourers in the gospel harvest, and of thus multiplying the ministers of CHRIST from time to time. It was also through the munificence of the

[w] *Chron. Danicum* à LUDEWIGIO editum in *Reliquiis MStorum* tom. ix. p. 11. 16, 17.

[x] Concerning the conversion of the inhabitants of the Orkneys, see TORM. TORFÆI *Historia Rerum Orcadens.* lib. i. p. 22. and for an account of the Icelanders, the reader may consult ARNGRIM. JONAS'S *Cynogæa*, lib. i. and ARIUS *Multif. in Schedis Islandia*; as also TORFÆUS, his *Histor. Norveg.* tom. ii. p. 378, 379, 417. and GABRIEL LIRON'S *Singularités Historiques et Littéraires*, tom. i. p. 138.—The same TORFÆUS gives a full account of the introduction of Christianity into Groenland, in his *Histor. Norveg.* tom. ii. p. 374. and also in his *Groenlandia Antiqua*, c. xvii. p. 127.

same

same prince, that many convents were erected for those who, in conformity with the false piety of the times, chose to finish their Christian course in the indolent sanctity of a solitary life, and it was by his express order that schools were established in almost every city for the education of the youth. All this may serve to shew us the generosity and zeal of this illustrious emperor, whose merit would have surpassed the highest encomiums, had his prudence and moderation been equal to the fervour of his piety, and the uprightness of his intentions. But the superstition of his empress [y], and the deplorable ignorance of the times, deluded this good prince into the notion, that he obliged the Deity in proportion as he loaded the clergy with riches and honours, and that nothing was more proper to draw down upon him the divine protection, than the exercise of a boundless liberality to his ministers. In consequence of this idle and extravagant fancy, OTHO opened the sources of his opulence, which flowed into the church like an over-grown torrent, so that the bishops, monks, and religious houses, wallowed in wealth and abundance. But succeeding ages perceived the unhappy effects of this excessive and ill-judged munificence; when the sacred orders employed this opulence, which they had acquired without either merit or labour, in gratifying their passions, in waging war against all who opposed their ambitious pretensions, and in purchasing the various pleasures of a luxurious and effeminate life.

X. It was no doubtful mark of the progress and strength of the Christian cause, that the European kings and princes began so early as this century to form the project of a holy war against the Mahometans, who were masters of *Palestine*. They considered it as an intolerable reproach upon Christians, that the very land in which the divine author of their religion had received his birth, exercised his ministry, and made expiation for the sins of mortals, should be abandoned to the enemies of the Christian name. They also looked upon it as highly just, and suitable to the majesty of the Christian religion, to avenge the calamities and injuries, the persecution and reproach, which its professors had suffered under the Mahometan

[y] See the life of this empress, whose name was ADELAID, in the *Lectiones Antiquæ* of HENRY CANISIUS, tom. iii. part I. p. 69.

yoke.

CENT.
X.
PART I.

The plan of
a holy war
formed in
this century.

CENT.
X.
PART I.

yoke. The bloody signal was accordingly given towards the conclusion of this century, by the Roman pontif SILVESTER II, and that in the first year of his pontificate. And this signal was an epistle, wrote in the name of the *church of Jerusalem*, to the *church universal throughout the world* [z], in which the European powers are solemnly exhorted and entreated to succour and deliver the Christians in *Palestine*. The exhortations of the pontif were, however, without effect, except upon the inhabitants of *Pisa*, who are said to have obeyed the papal summons with the utmost alacrity, and to have prepared themselves immediately for a holy campaign [a].

CHAP. II.

Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the church during this century.

The progress of the
Turks and
Saracens.

I. THE Christian religion suffered less in this century from the cruelty of its enemies, than from the defection of its friends. Of all the Pagan monarchs, under whose government the Christians lived, none behaved to them in a hostile manner, nor tormented them with the execution of compulsive edicts or penal laws, except GORMON and SWEIN, kings of *Denmark*. Notwithstanding this, their affairs were far from being either in a fixed or flourishing state; nay, their situation was full of uncertainty and peril, both in the eastern and western provinces. The Saracens in *Asia* and *Africa*, amidst the intestine divisions under which they groaned, and the calamities that over-whelmed them from different quarters, were extremely assiduous in propagating every where the doctrines of MAHOMET, nor were their efforts unsuccessful. Multitudes of Christians fell into their snares; and the Turks, a valiant and fierce nation, who inhabited the northern coast of the *Caspian* sea, received their doctrine.

[z] This is the XXVIIIth Epistle in the first part of the collection of the letters of SILVESTER II, that is published by DU CHESNE, in the third volume of his *Scriptor. Histor. Franc.*

[a] See MURATORI *Scriptores rerum Italicarum*, tom. iii. p. 400.

The uniformity of religion did not, however, produce a solid union of interests between the Turks and Saracens; on the contrary, their dissensions and quarrels were never more violent, than from the time that MAHOMET became their common chief in religious matters. The succours of the former were implored by the Persians, whose country was a prey to the ambitious usurpations of the latter, and these succours were granted with the utmost alacrity and readiness. The Turks accordingly fell upon the Saracens in a furious manner, drove them out of the whole extent of the Persian territories, and afterwards, with incredible rapidity and success, invaded, seized, and plundered the other provinces that belonged to that people, whose desolation, in reality, came on like a whirlwind. Thus the powerful empire of the Saracens, which its enemies had for so many years attempted in vain to overturn, fell at last by the hands of its allies and friends. The Turks accomplished what the Greeks and Romans ineffectually aimed at; they struck suddenly that dreadful blow, which ruined at once the affairs of the Saracens in *Persia*, and then deprived them, by degrees, of their other dominions; and thus the Ottoman empire, which was still an object of terror to the Christians, was established upon the ruins of the Saracen dominion [b].

C E N T.
X.
P A R T I.

II. In the western provinces, the Christians had much to suffer from the hatred and cruelty of those who remained under the darkness of paganism. The Normans, during a great part of this century, committed, in several parts of *France*, the most barbarous hostilities, and involved the Christians, wherever they carried their victorious arms, in numberless calamities. The Sarmatians, Slavonians, Bohemians, and others, who had either conceived an aversion for the gospel, or were sunk in a stupid ignorance of its intrinsic excellence and its immortal blessings, not only endeavoured to extirpate Christianity out of their own territories by the most barbarous efforts of cruelty and violence, but infested the adjacent countries, where it was professed, with fire and sword, and left, wherever they went, the most dreadful marks of their

The western
Barbarians
persecute the
Christians.

[b] For a more ample account of these revolutions, see the *Annales Turcici* of LEUNCLAVIUS; as also GEORGII ELMACINI *Historia Saracenica*, p. 190. 203. 210.

unrelenting

C E N T.
X.
P A R T I.

unrelenting fury. The Danes, moreover, did not cease to molest the Christians, until they were subdued by OTHO the Great, and thus, from being the enemies, became the friends of the Christian cause. The Hungarians also contributed their part to the sufferings of the church, by their incursions into several parts of *Germany*, which they turned into scenes of desolation and misery; while the fierce Arabs, by their tyranny in *Spain*, and their depredations in *Italy* and the neighbouring islands, spread calamity and oppression all around them, of which, no doubt, the Christians established in these parts had the heaviest portion.

The effects
of these ca-
lamities.

III. Whoever considers the endless vexations, persecutions, and calamities, which the Christians suffered from the nations that continued in their ancient superstitions, will easily perceive the reason of that fervent and inextinguishable zeal, which Christian princes discovered for the conversion of these nations, whose impetuous and savage fury they experienced from time to time. A principle of self-preservation, and a prudent regard to their own safety, as well as a pious zeal for the propagation of the gospel, engaged them to put in practice every method that might open the eyes of their barbarous adversaries, from a rational and well-grounded hope that the precepts of Christianity would mitigate, by degrees, the ferocity of these nations, and soften their rugged and intractable tempers. Hence it was, that Christian kings and emperors left no means unemployed to draw these infidels within the pale of the church. For this purpose, they proposed to their chiefs alliances of marriage, offered them certain districts and territories, auxiliary troops to maintain them against their enemies, upon condition that they would abandon the superstition of their ancestors, which was so proper to nourish their ferocity, and to increase their passion for blood and carnage. These offers were attended with the desired success, as they induced the infidel chiefs not only to lend an ear themselves to the instructions and exhortations of the Christian missionaries, but also to oblige their subjects and armies to follow their examples in this respect.

P A R T

P A R T II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH:

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during this century.

THE deplorable ignorance of this barbarous age, in which the drooping arts were totally neglected, and the sciences seemed to be upon the point of expiring for want of encouragement, is unanimously confessed and lamented by all the writers, who have transmitted to us any accounts of this period of time. Nor, indeed, will this fatal revolution, in the republic of letters, appear astonishing to such as consider, on the one hand, the terrible vicissitudes, tumults, and wars that turned all things into confusion both in the eastern and western world, and, on the other, the ignominious stupidity and dissoluteness of those sacred orders who had been appointed as the guardians of truth and learning. LEO, surnamed the *Philosopher*, who ascended the imperial throne of the Greeks towards the commencement of this century, was himself an eminent lover of learning, and an auspicious and zealous protector of such as distinguished themselves in the culture of the sciences [c]. This noble and generous disposition appeared with still a greater lustre in his son CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENETA, who not only discovered the greatest ardour for the revival of the arts and sciences in Greece [d], but also employed the most effectual measures for the accomplishment of this excellent purpose. It was with this view that he spared no expence in drawing to his court, and supporting in his dominions, a variety of learned men, each of whom excelled in some of the different branches of literature, and in causing the

CENT.

X.

PART II.

The state
of letters
among the
Greeks.

[c] See JO. ALB. FABRICII *Biblioth. Græc.* lib. v. part II. cap. v. p. 363.

[d] FABRICIUS, *ibid.* cap. v. p. 486.

C E N T.
X.
P A R T II.

most diligent search to be made after the writing of the ancients. With this view, also, he became himself an author [e], and thus animated by his example, as well as by his protection, men of genius and abilities to enrich the sciences with their learned productions. He employed, moreover, a considerable number of able pens, in making valuable extracts from the commentaries, and other compositions of the ancients; which extracts were preserved in certain places for the benefit and satisfaction of the curious; and thus, by various exertions of liberality and zeal, this learned prince restored the arts and sciences to a certain degree of life and vigour [f]. But few of the Greeks followed this great and illustrious example; nor was there any among the succeeding emperors who equalled these two excellent princes in zeal for the advancement of learning, or in lending, by their protection and encouragement, an auspicious hand to raise out of obscurity and dejection, neglected and depressed genius. But what is still more remarkable, CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENETA, whom we have now been representing as the restorer of letters, and whom the Greeks unanimously admire in this character, is supposed by some to have done considerable prejudice to the cause of learning by the very means he employed to promote its advancement. For by employing learned men to extract from the writers of antiquity what they thought might contribute to the improvement of the various arts and sciences, he gave too much occasion to neglect the sources, and flattered the indolence of the effeminate Greeks, who confined their studies to these extracts, and neglected, in effect, the per-

✍ [e] We have yet remaining of CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENETA, son of LEO the Philosopher, the following productions:
The Life of the emperor Basilus.

A Treatise upon the Art of Governing, in which he investigates the origin of several nations, treats of their power, their progress, their revolutions, and their decline, and gives a series of their princes and rulers.

A Discourse concerning the manner of forming a Land Army and Naval Force in Order of Battle.

Two Books concerning the Eastern and Western Provinces.

Which may be considered as an account of the state of the empire in the time of this prince.

[f] All this appears evident from the accounts left upon record by ZONARAS, in his *Annales*, tom. iii. p. 155. edit. Paris.

CHAP. I. LEARNING and PHILOSOPHY.

usal of the writers from whom they were drawn. And hence it unfortunately happened, that many of the most celebrated authors of antiquity were lost, at this time, through the sloth and negligence of the Greeks.

II. This method, as the event manifestly shewed, was really detrimental to the progress of true learning and genius. And accordingly we find among the Greek writers of this century but a small number, who acquired a distinguished and shining reputation in the republic of letters; so that the fair and engaging prospects which seemed to arise to the cause of learning from the munificence and zeal of its imperial patrons, vanished in a short time; and though the seeds of science were richly sown, the natural expectations of an abundant harvest were unhappily disappointed. Nor did the cause of philosophy succeed better than that of literature. Philosophers indeed there were; and, among them, some that were not destitute of genius and abilities; but none who rendered their names immortal by productions that were worthy of being transmitted to posterity: A certain number of rhetoricians and grammarians: A few poets who were above contempt; and several historians, who, without deserving the highest encomiums, were not however totally void of merit: Such were the members which composed at this time the republic of letters in *Greece*, whose inhabitants seemed to take pleasure in those kinds of literature alone, in which industry, imagination, and memory are concerned.

III. *Egypt*, though at this time it groaned under a heavy and exasperating yoke of oppression and bondage, produced writers, who in genius and learning were no wise inferior to the most eminent of the Grecian literati. Of the many examples we might mention to prove the truth of this assertion, we shall confine ourselves to that of EUTYCHIUS, bishop of *Alexandria*, who cultivated the sciences of physic and theology with the greatest success, and cast a new light upon them both by his excellent writings. The Arabians, during this whole century, preserved that noble passion for the arts and sciences, which had been kindled among them in the preceding age; and hence they abounded with physicians, mathematicians, and philosophers, whose names and characters, together

195
CENT.
X.
PART II.

Few eminent writers among the Greeks.

The state of learning among the Saracens.

C E N T.
X.
P A R T II.

In the western provinces.

with an account of their respective abilities and talents, are given by LEO AFRICANUS and other literary historians.

IV. The Latins present to us a spectacle of a very different kind. They were, almost without exception, sunk in the most brutish and barbarous ignorance; so that, according to the unanimous accounts of the most credible writers, nothing could be more melancholy and deplorable than the darkness that reigned in the western world during this century, which, with respect to learning and philosophy at least, may be called the *Iron Age* of the Latins [g]. Some learned men of modern times have, we confess, ventured to call this in question; but their doubts are certainly without foundation, and the matter of fact is too firmly established by unquestionable authorities, to lose any part of its credit in consequence of the objections they alledge against it [h]. It is true, there were public schools founded in most of the European provinces, some of which were erected in the monasteries, and the rest in those cities where the bishops resided. It is also true, that through this dismal night of ignorance, there shone forth

[g] The testimonies, that prove the ignorance which prevailed in the xth century, are collected by DU BOULAY, in his *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 288. and also by LUD. ANT. MURATORI, in his *Antiquitat. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iii. p. 231. et tom. ii. p. 141, &c.

[h] The famous LEIBNITZ, in his *Præfatio ad codicem juris Nat. et Gentium Diplom.* affirms, that there was more knowledge and learning in the xth century, than in the succeeding ages, particularly in the xiith and xiiith centuries. But this is washing the Ethiopian; it is also an extravagant assertion, and favours much of paradox. We shall be better directed in our notions of this matter by MABILLON, in his *Præfatio ad Aëtior. SS. Ordin. Bened. Quint. Sæc.* p. 2. by the authors of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, and by LE BEUF's *Dissertat. de Statu litterarum in Francia, a Carolo M. ad regem Robert.* who all agree in acknowledging the gross ignorance of this century, though they would engage us to believe that its barbarism and darkness were not so hideous as they are commonly represented. There are, indeed, several considerations that render the reasons and testimonies even of these writers not a little defective; but we nevertheless agree with them so far, as to grant that all learning and knowledge were not absolutely extinguished in Europe at this time, and that, in the records of this century, we shall find a few chosen spirits, who pierced through the cloud of ignorance that covered the multitude.

from

from time to time, and more especially towards the conclusion of this century, some geniuses of a superior order, who eyed with ardour the paths of science, and cast some rays of light upon the darkness of a barbarous age. But they were very few in number, and their extreme rarity is a sufficient proof of the infelicity of the times in which they appeared. In the seminaries of learning, such as they were, the seven liberal sciences were taught in the most unskilful and miserable manner, and that by the monks, who esteemed the arts and sciences no farther than as they were subservient to the interests of religion, or, to speak more properly, to the views of superstition.

V. They, who were the most learned and judicious among the monastic orders, and who were desirous of employing usefully a part of their leisure, applied themselves to the composition of annals and histories, which favoured of the ignorance and barbarism of the times. Such were ABO, LUITPRAND, WITTEKIND, FULCUIN, JOHANNES CAPUANUS, RATHERIUS, FLODOARD, NOTKER, ETHELBERT, and others, who, though very different from each other in their respective degrees of merit, were all in general ignorant of the true nature and rules of historical composition. Several of the poets of this age gave evident marks of true genius, but they were strangers to the poetic art, which was not indeed necessary to satisfy a people, utterly destitute of elegance and taste. The grammarians and rhetoricians of these unhappy times are scarcely worthy of mention; their method of instructing was full of absurdities, and their rules trivial and for the most part injudicious. The same judgment may be formed in general of the geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music, which were more or less taught in the public schools, and of which a more particular account would be uninteresting and insipid.

Monkish
learning.

VI. The philosophy of the Latins extended no farther than the single science of *logic* or *dialectics*, which they looked upon as the sum and substance of all human wisdom. But this logic, which was so highly admired, was drawn without the least perspicuity or method from a book of *Categories*, which some have unjustly attributed to AUGUSTIN, and others to PORPHYRY. It is true, indeed, that the *Timæus* of PLATO, the *Topica* of CICERO

The state of
philosophy.

C E N T.
X.
P A R T II.

and ARISTOTLE, and the book of the latter, *De interpretatione*, with other compositions of the Greeks and Latins, were in the hands of several of the doctors of this century, as we learn from credible accounts; but the same accounts inform us, that the true sense of these excellent authors was understood by almost none of those that perused them daily [i]. It will appear, no doubt, surprizing, that in such an ignorant age, such a subtle question as that concerning *universal ideas* should ever have been thought of; true however it is, that the famous controversy, *Whether universal ideas belonged to the class of objects, or of mere names*; a controversy which perplexed and bewildered the Latin doctors in succeeding times, and gave rise to the two opposite sects of the *Nominalists* and *Realists*, was started for the first time in this century. Accordingly we find in several passages of the writers of this period, the seeds and beginnings of this tedious and intricate dispute [k].

The restoration of letters in Europe by Sylvester II.

VII. The drooping sciences found an eminent and illustrious patron, towards the conclusion of this century, in the learned GERBERT, a native of *France*, who, upon his elevation to the pontificate, assumed the title of SYLVESTER II. The genius of this famous pontif was extensive and sublime, embracing all the different branches of literature; but its more peculiar bent was turned towards mathematical studies. Mechanics, geometry, astronomy, arithmetic, and every other kind of knowledge that had the least affinity to these important sciences, were cultivated by this restorer of learning with the most ardent

[i] GUNZO *Epistol. ad Monachos Augienses* in MARTENE *Collect. Ampliss. Monumentor. Veter.* tom. iii. p. 304.

[k] This appears evident from the following remarkable passage, which the reader will find at the 304th page of the work cited in the preceding note; and in which the learned GUNZO expresses himself in the following manner: *Aristoteles, genus, speciem, differentiam, proprium et accidens subsistere denegavit, quæ Platonis subsistentia perjuasit. Aristoteli an Platoni magis credendum putatis? Magna est utriusque auctoritas, quatenus vix audeat quis alterum alteri dignitate præferre.* Here we see plainly the seeds of discord sown, and the foundation laid for that knotty dispute which puzzled the metaphysical brains of the Latin doctors in after-times. GUNZO was not adventurous enough to attempt a solution of this intricate question, which he leaves undecided; others were less modest, without being more successful.

zeal,

zeal, and not without success, as his writings abundantly testify; nor did he stop here; but employed every method that was proper to encourage and animate others to the culture of the liberal arts and sciences. The effects of this noble zeal were visible in *Germany*, *France*, and *Italy*, both in this and in the following century; as by the writings, example, and encouraging exhortations of GERBERT, many were excited to the study of physic, mathematics, and philosophy, and in general to the pursuit of science in all its various branches. If, indeed, we compare this learned pontif with the mathematicians of modern times, his merit, in that point of view, will almost totally disappear under such a disadvantageous comparison; for his *geometry*, though it be easy and perspicuous, is but elementary and superficial [l]. Yet such as it was, it was marvellous in an age of barbarism and darkness, and surpassed the comprehension of those pigmy philosophers, whose eyes, under the auspicious direction of GERBERT, were but just beginning to open upon the light. Hence it was, that the geometrical figures, described by this mathematical pontif, were regarded by the monks as magical operations, and the pontif himself was treated as a magician and a disciple of satan [m].

VIII. It was not, however, to the fecundity of his genius alone, that GERBERT was indebted for the knowledge with which he now began to enlighten the European provinces; he had derived a part of his erudition, particularly in physic, mathematics, and philosophy, from the writings and instructions of the Arabians, who were settled in *Spain*. Thither he had repaired in pursuit of knowledge, and had spent some time in the seminaries of learning at *Cordoua* and *Seville*, with a view to hear the Arabian doctors [n]; and it was, perhaps, by his example, that the Europeans were directed and engaged to have recourse to this source of instruction in after-times. For

Who derived his knowledge and erudition from the Arabians.

[l] This geometry was published by PEZIUS, in his *Theaurus Anecdotorum*, tom. iii. part II. p. 7.

[m] See *Hist. Litter. de la France*, tom. vi. p. 558.—DU BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. i. p. 314. 319.—NAUDE, *Apologie pour les Grands hommes faussement accusés de la Magie*, chap. xix. § 4.

[n] See DU BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. i. p. 314.

C E N T.
X.
P A R T II.

it is undeniably certain, that, from the time of GERBERT, such of the Europeans as were ambitious of making any considerable progress in physic, arithmetic, geometry, or philosophy, entertained the most eager and impatient desire of receiving instruction either from the academical lessons, or from the writings, of the Arabian philosophers, who had founded schools in several parts of *Spain* and *Italy*. Hence it was, that the most celebrated productions of these doctors were translated into Latin, their tenets and systems adopted with zeal in the European schools, and that numbers went over to *Spain* and *Italy* to receive instruction from the mouths of these famous teachers, which were supposed to utter nothing but the deepest mysteries of wisdom and knowledge. However excessive this veneration for the Arabian doctors may have been, it must be owned, nevertheless, that all the knowledge, whether of physic, astronomy, philosophy, or mathematics, which flourished in *Europe* from the tenth century, was originally derived from them; and that the Spanish Saracens, in a more particular manner, may be looked upon as the fathers of European philosophy.

C H A P. II.

Concerning the doctors and ministers of the church, and its form of government, during this Century.

The corrup-
tion of the
clergy.

I. **T**O those who consider the primitive dignity and the solemn nature of the ministerial character, the corruptions of the clergy must appear deplorable beyond all expression. These corruptions were mounted to the most enormous height in that dismal period of the church, which we have now before us. Both in the eastern and western provinces, the clergy were, for the most part, composed of a most worthless set of men, shamefully illiterate and stupid, ignorant more especially in religious matters, equally enslaved to sensuality and superstition, and capable of the most abominable and flagitious deeds. This dismal degeneracy of the sacred order was, according to the most credible accounts, principally owing to the pretended chiefs and rulers of the universal church, who indulged themselves in

in the commission of the most odious crimes, and abandoned themselves to the lawless impulse of the most licentious passions without reluctance or remorse, who confounded, in short, all difference between just and unjust, to satisfy their impious ambition, and whose spiritual empire was such a diversified scene of iniquity and violence, as never was exhibited under any of those temporal tyrants, who have been the scourges of mankind. We may form some notion of the Grecian patriarchs from the single example of THEOPHYLACT, who, according to the testimonies of the most respectable writers, made the most impious traffic of ecclesiastical promotions, and expressed no sort of care about any thing but his dogs and horses [o]. Degenerate, however, and licentious as these patriarchs might be, they were, generally speaking, less profligate and indecent than the Roman pontiffs.

C E N T.
X.
P A R T II.

II. The history of the Roman pontiffs, that lived in this century, is a history of so many monsters, and not of men, and exhibits a horrible series of the most flagitious, tremendous, and complicated crimes, as all writers, even those of the Romish communion, unanimously confess. The source of these disorders must be sought for principally in the calamities that fell upon the greatest part of *Europe*, and that afflicted *Italy* in a particular manner, after the extinction of the race of CHARLEMAGNE. Upon the death of the pontif BENEDICT IV, which happened in the year 903, LEO V was raised to the pontificate, which he enjoyed no longer than forty days, being dethroned by CHRISTOPHER, and cast into prison. CHRISTOPHER, in his turn, was deprived of the pontifical dignity the year following by SERGIUS III, a Roman presbyter, seconded by the protection and influence of ADALBERT, a most

The history
of the Ro-
man pontiffs.

[o] This *exemplary* prelate, who sold every ecclesiastical benefice as soon as it became vacant, had in his stable above 2000 hunting horses, which he fed with pignuts, pistachios, dates, dried grapes, figs steeped in the most exquisite wines, to all which he added the richest perfumes. One Holy Thursday, as he was celebrating high-mass, his groom brought him the joyful news that one of his favourite mares had foaled; upon which he threw down the Liturgy, left the church, and ran in raptures to the stable, where having expressed his joy at that *grand* event, he returned to the altar to finish the divine service which he had left interrupted during his absence. See FLEURY, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* livre lv. p. 97. edit. *Bruxelle.*

power-

C E N T.
X.
P A R T II.

powerful Tuscan prince, who had a supreme and unlimited direction in all the affairs that were transacted at *Rome*. ANASTASIUS III and LANDO, who, upon the death of SERGIUS, in the year 911, were raised successively to the papal dignity, enjoyed it but for a short time, and did nothing that could contribute to render their names illustrious.

John X
created Roman pontif.

III. After the death of LANDO, which happened in the year 914, ALBERIC [p], marquis or count of *Tuscany*, whose opulence was prodigious, and whose authority in *Rome* was despotic and unlimited, obtained the pontificate for JOHN X, archbishop of *Ravenna*, in compliance with the sollicitation of THEODORA, his mother-in-law, whose lewdness was the principle that interested her in this promotion [q]. This infamous election will not surprize such as know that the laws of *Rome* were at this time absolutely silent; that the dictates of justice and equity were overpowered and suspended; and that all things were carried on in that great city by interest or corruption, by violence or fraud. JOHN X, though in other respects a scandalous example of iniquity and lewdness in the papal chair, acquired a certain degree of reputation by his glorious campaign against the Saracens, whom he drove from the settlements they had made upon the banks of the *Garigliano* [r]. He did not, however, enjoy his glory long; the enmity of MAROZIA, daughter of THEODORA, and wife of ALBERIC, proved fatal to him. For this bloody-minded woman having espoused WIDO, or GUY, marquis of *Tuscany*, after the death of her first consort, engaged

[p] It was ALBERT or ADALBERT, and not ALBERIC, who was the son-in-law of the elder THEODORA, of whom Dr. MOSHEIM here speaks. ALBERIC was grandson to this THEODORA, by her daughter MAROZIA, who was married to ALBERT. See SPANHEIM, *Ecc. Hist. Secul.* x. p. 1432.—FLEURY, *Hist. Eccles.* livre liv. p. 571. edit. *Bruxelle*.—This latter historian is of opinion, that it was the younger THEODORA, the sister of MAROZIA, who, from an amorous principle, raised JOHN X to the pontificate.

[q] THEODORA, mistress of *Rome*, had JOHN X raised to the pontificate, that she might continue that licentious commerce in which she had lived with that carnal ecclesiastic for many years past. See FLEURY, and other writers, &c.

[r] In the original we have *Montem Garilianum*, which is, undoubtedly, a mistake, as the *Garigliano* is a river in the kingdom of *Naples*, and not a mountain.

him

him to seize the wanton pontif, who was her mother's lover, and to put him to death in the prison where he lay confined. This licentious and unlucky pontif was succeeded by LEO VI, who sat but seven months in the apostolic chair, which was filled after him by STEPHEN VII. The death of this latter, which happened in the year 931, presented to the ambition of MAROZIA, an object worthy of its grasp; and accordingly she raised to the papal dignity JOHN XI, who was the fruit of her lawless amours with one of the pretended successors of St. PETER, SERGIUS III, whose adulterous commerce with that infamous woman gave an *infallible* guide to the Roman church [s].

C E N T.
X.
P A R T II.

IV. JOHN XI, who was placed at the head of the church by the credit and influence of his mother, was pulled down from this summit of spiritual grandeur A. D. 933, by ALBERIC his half-brother, who had conceived the utmost aversion against him. His mother MAROZIA had, after the death of WIDO, entered anew into the bonds of matrimony with HUGO, king of *Italy*, who, having offended his step-son ALBERIC, felt severely the weight of his resentment, which vented its fury upon the whole family; for ALBERIC drove out of *Rome* not only HUGO, but also MAROZIA and her son the pontif, and confined them in prison, where the latter ended his days in the year 936. The four pontifs, who, in their turns, succeeded JOHN XI, and filled the papal chair until the year 956, were LEO VII, STEPHEN VIII, MARINUS II, and AGAPET, whose characters were much better than that of their predecessor, and whose government, at least, was not attended with those tumults and revolutions, that had so often shook the pontifical throne, and banished from *Rome* the inestimable blessings of peace and-concord.

John XI
and XII.

[s] The character and conduct of MAROZIA are acknowledged to have been most infamous by the unanimous testimony both of ancient and modern historians, who affirm, with one voice, that JOHN XI was the fruit of her carnal commerce with SERGIUS III. EC-CARD, alone, in his *Origines Guelphicae*, tom. i. lib. ii. p. 131. has ventured to clear her from this reproach, and to assert that SERGIUS, before his elevation to the pontificate, was her lawful and first husband. The attempt, however, is highly extravagant, if not impudent, to pretend to acquit, without the least testimony or proof of her innocence, a woman who is known to have been entirely destitute of every principle of virtue.

Upon

CENT.
X.
PART II.

Upon the death of AGAPET, which happened in the year 956, ALBERIC II, who to the dignity of Roman consul joined a degree of authority and opulence which nothing could resist, raised to the pontificate his son OCTAVIAN, who was yet in the early bloom of youth, and destitute, besides, of every quality that was requisite in order to discharge the duties of that high and important office. This unworthy pontif assumed the name of JOHN XII, and thus introduced the custom, that has since been adopted by all his successors in the see of *Rome*, of changing each their usual name for another upon their accession to the pontificate.

The fate of
John XII.

V. The fate of JOHN XII was as unhappy as his promotion had been scandalous. Unable to bear the oppressive yoke of BERENGER II, king of *Italy*, he sent ambassadors, in the year 960, to OTHO the Great, entreating him to march into *Italy* at the head of a powerful army, to deliver the church and the people from the tyranny under which they groaned. To these entreaties the perplexed pontif added a solemn promise, that, if the German monarch came to his assistance, he would array him with the purple and the other ensigns of sovereignty, and proclaim him emperor of the Romans. OTHO received this embassy with pleasure, marched into *Italy* at the head of a large body of troops, and was accordingly saluted by JOHN with the title of emperor of the Romans. The pontif, however, soon perceiving that he had acted with too much precipitation, repented of the step he had taken, and, though he had sworn allegiance to the emperor as his lawful sovereign, and that in the most solemn manner, yet he broke his oath, and joined with ADALBERT, the son of BERENGER, against OTHO. This revolt was not left unpunished. The emperor returned to *Rome* in the year 964, called a council, before which he accused and convicted the pontif of many crimes; and, after having degraded him, in the most ignominious manner, from his high office, he appointed LEO VIII to fill his place. Upon OTHO's departure from *Rome*, JOHN returned to that city, and in a council, which he assembled in the year 964, condemned the pontif whom the emperor had elected, and soon after died in a miserable and violent manner. After his death the Romans chose BENEDICT V,

V, bishop of *Rome*, in opposition to LEO ; but the emperor annulled this election, restored LEO to the papal chair, and carried BENEDICT to *Hamburg*, where he died in exile [†].

C E N T.
X.
P A R T II.

VI. The pontiffs who governed the see of *Rome* from LEO VIII, who died A. D. 965, to GERBERT or SILVESTER II, who was raised to the pontificate towards the conclusion of this century, were more happy in their administration, as well as more decent in their conduct, than their infamous predecessors ; yet none of them so exemplary as to deserve the applause that is due to eminent virtue. JOHN XIII, who was raised to the pontificate in the year 965, by the authority of OTHO the Great, was driven out of *Rome* in the beginning of his administration ; but, the year following, upon the emperor's return to *Italy*, he was restored to his high dignity, in the calm possession of which he ended his days A. D. 972. His successor BENEDICT VI was not so happy ; cast into prison by CRESCENTIUS, son of the famous THEODORA, in consequence of the hatred which the Romans had conceived both against his person and government, he was loaded with all sorts of ignominy, and was strangled in the year 974, in the apartment where he lay confined. Unfortunately for him, OTHO the Great, whose power and severity kept the Romans in awe, died in the year 973, and with him expired that order and discipline which he had restored in *Rome* by salutary laws executed with impartiality and vigour. The face of things was entirely changed by that event ; licentiousness and disorder, seditions and assassinations, resumed their former sway, and diffused their horrors through that miserable city. After

John XIII.
Benedict
VII.

[†] In the account I have here given of the pontiffs of this century, I have consulted the sources, which are to be found, for the most part, in MURATORI's *Scriptores Rerum Italicar.* as also BARONIUS, PETER DE MARCA, SIGONIUS *De Regno Italiae*, with the learned annotations of ANT. SAXIUS, MURATORI, in his *Annales Italiae*, PAGI, and other writers, all of whom have had access to the sources, and to several ancient manuscripts, which have not as yet been published. The narrations, I have here given, are most certainly true upon the whole. It must, however, be confessed, that many parts of the papal history lie yet in great obscurity, and stand much in need of farther illustration ; nor will I deny that a spirit of partiality has been extremely detrimental to the history of the pontiffs by corrupting it, and rendering it uncertain in a multitude of places.

the

C E N T.
X.
P A R T II.

the death of BENEDICT, the papal chair was filled by FRANCO, who assumed the name of BONIFACE VII, but enjoyed his dignity only for a short time ; for scarcely a month had passed after his promotion when he was deposed from his office, expelled the city, and succeeded by DONUS II [u], who is known by no other circumstance than his name. Upon his death, which happened in the year 975, BENEDICT VII was created pontif ; and, during the space of nine years, ruled the church without much opposition, and ended his days in peace. This peculiar happiness was, without doubt, principally owing to the opulence and credit of the family to which he belonged ; for he was nearly related to the famous ALBERIC, whose power, or rather despotism, had been unlimited in *Rome*.

John XIV
and XV.

VII. His successor JOHN XIV, who, from the bishopric of *Pavia* was raised to the pontificate, derived no support from his birth, which was obscure, nor did he continue to enjoy the protection of OTHO III, to whom he owed his promotion. Hence the calamities that fell upon him with such fury, and the misery that concluded his transitory grandeur ; for BONIFACE VII, who had usurped the papal throne in the year 974, and in a little time after had been banished *Rome*, returned from *Constantinople*, whither he had fled for refuge, and seizing the unhappy pontif, had him thrown into prison, and afterwards put to death. Thus BONIFACE resumed the government of the church ; but his reign was also transitory, for he died about six months after his restoration [w]. He was succeeded by JOHN XV, whom some writers call JOHN XVI, because as they alledge, there was another JOHN, who ruled the church during the space of four months, and whom they consequently call JOHN XV [x]. Leaving it to the reader's choice to call that JOHN of whom we speak, the

[u] Some writers place DONUS II before BENEDICT VI. See the *Tabula Synoptica Hist. Eccles.* of the learned PFAFF.

[w] FLEURY says eleven months.

[x] Among these writers is the learned PFAFF, in his *Tabula Synoptica*, &c. But the Roman catholic writers, whom Dr. MOSHEIM follows with good reason, don't count among the number of the pontiffs that JOHN who governed the church of *Rome* during the space of four months, after the death of BONIFACE VII, because he was never duly invested, by consecration, with the papal dignity.

XV, or the XVI, of that name, we shall only observe that he possessed the papal dignity from the year 985 to 996, that his administration was as happy as the troubled state of the Roman affairs would permit, and that the tranquillity he enjoyed was not so much owing to his wisdom and prudence, as to his being a Roman by birth, and to his descent from noble and illustrious ancestors. Certain it is, at least, that his successor GREGORY V, who was a German, and who was elected pontif by the order of OTHO III, A. D. 996, met with a quite different treatment; for CRESCENS, the Roman consul, drove him out of the city, and conferred his dignity upon JOHN XVI, formerly known by the name of PHILAGATHUS. This revolution was not, however, permanent in its effects, for OTHO III, alarmed by these disturbances at Rome, marched into Italy, A. D. 998, at the head of a powerful army, and casting into prison the new pontif, whom the soldiers, in the first moment of their fury, had maimed, and abused in a most barbarous manner, he reinstated GREGORY in his former honours, and placed him anew at the head of the church. It was upon the death of this latter pontif, which happened soon after his restoration, that the same emperor raised to the papal dignity his preceptor and friend the famous and learned GERBERT, or SYLVESTER II, whose promotion was attended with the universal approbation of the Roman people [y].

VIII. Amidst these frequent commotions, and even amidst the repeated enormities and flagitious crimes of those who gave themselves out for CHRIST's vice-gerents upon earth, the power and authority of the Roman pontifs increased imperceptibly from day to day; such were the effects of that ignorance and superstition that reigned without controul in these miserable times. OTHO the Great had indeed published a solemn edict, prohibiting the election of any pontif without the previous knowledge and consent of the emperor; which edict, as all writers

C E N T.
X.
P A R T II.

The influence and authority of the pontifs increases daily.

[y] The history of the Roman pontifs of this period is not only extremely barren of interesting events, but also obscure, and uncertain in many respects. In the accounts I have here given of them, I have followed principally LUD. ANT. MURATORI's *Annales Italiae*, and the *Conatus Chronologico-Historicus de Romanis Pontificibus*, which the learned PAPEBROCHIUS has prefixed to his *Acta Sanctorum Mensis Maii*.

una-

CENT.

X.

PART II.

unanimously agree, remained in force from the time of its publication to the conclusion of this century. It is also to be observed, that the same emperor, as likewise his son and grandson, who succeeded him in the empire, maintained, without interruption, their right of supremacy over the city of *Rome*, its territory, and its pontif, as may be demonstrably proved from a multitude of examples. It is, moreover, equally certain, that the German, French, and Italian bishops, who were not ignorant of the nature of their privileges, and the extent of their jurisdiction, were, during this whole century, perpetually upon their guard against every attempt, the Roman pontif might make, to assume to himself *alone* a legislative authority in the church. But, notwithstanding all this, the bishops of *Rome* found means of augmenting their influence, and partly by open violence, partly by secret and fraudulent stratagems, encroached not only upon the privileges of the bishops, but also upon the jurisdiction and rights of kings and emperors [z]. Their ambitious attempts were seconded and justified by the scandalous adulation of certain mercenary prelates, who exalted the dignity and prerogatives of, what they called, the apostolic see in the most pompous and extravagant terms. Several learned writers have observed, that in this century certain bishops maintained publicly that the Roman pontifs were not only bishops of *Rome*, but of the whole world, an assertion which hitherto none had ventured to make [a]; and that even among the French clergy, it had been affirmed by some, that *the authority of the Bishops, though divine in its origin, was conveyed to them by St. PETER, the prince of the apostles* [b].

The bishops and abbots enlarge also their jurisdiction and prerogatives.

IX. The adventurous ambition of the bishops of *Rome*, who left no means unemployed to extend their jurisdiction, exhibited an example which the inferior prelates followed with the most zealous and indefatigable emulation. Several bishops and abbots had begun, even from the time that the descendants of CHARLEMAGNE sat on the imperial throne, to enlarge their prerogatives, and had actually

[z] Several examples of these usurpations may be found in the *Histoire du droit Eccles. François*, tom. i. p. 217. edit. in 8vo.

[a] *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. vi. p. 98.

[b] *Ibid.* p. 186.

obtained,

obtained, for their tenants and their possessions; an immunity from the jurisdiction of the counts and other magistrates, as also from taxes and imposts of all kinds. But in this century they carried their pretensions still farther; aimed at the civil jurisdiction over the cities and territories in which they exercised a spiritual dominion, and aspired after nothing less than the honours and authority of dukes, marquises, and counts of the empire. Among the principal circumstances that animated their zeal in the pursuit of these dignities, we may reckon the perpetual and bitter contests concerning jurisdiction and other matters, that reigned between the dukes and counts, who were governors of cities, and the bishops and abbots, who were their ghostly rulers. The latter therefore, seizing the favourable opportunity that was offered them by the superstition of the times, used every method that might be effectual to obtain that high rank, that hitherto stood in the way of their ambition. And the emperors and kings to whom they addressed their presumptuous requests generally granted them, either from a desire of pacifying the contentions and quarrels that arose between civil and military magistrates, or from a devout reverence for the sacred order, or with a view to augment their own authority, and to confirm their dominion by the good services of the bishops, whose influence was very great upon the minds of the people. Such were the different motives that engaged princes to enlarge the authority and jurisdiction of the clergy; and hence we see from this century downwards so many bishops and abbots invested with characters, employments, and titles so foreign to their spiritual offices and functions, and cloathed with the honours of dukes, marquises, counts, and viscounts [c].

[c] The learned LOUIS THOMASSIN, in his book *De Disciplina Ecclesie veteri et nova*, tom. iii. lib. i. cap. xxviii. p. 89. has collected a multitude of examples to prove that the titles and prerogatives of dukes and counts were conferred upon certain prelates so early as the 1xth century; nay, some bishops trace even to the viiith century the rise and first beginnings of that princely dominion which they now enjoy. But notwithstanding all this, if I be not entirely and grossly mistaken, there cannot be produced any evident and indisputable example of this princely dominion, previous to the xth century.

SENT.
X.
PART II.

Simony and
concubinage,
the principal
vices of the
clergy.

X. Besides the reproach of the grossest ignorance which the Latin clergy in this century so justly deserve [*d*], they were also chargeable, in a very heinous degree, with two other odious and enormous vices, even *concubinage* and *simony*, which the greatest part of the writers of these unhappy times acknowledge and deplore. As to the first of these vices it was practised too openly to admit of any doubt. The priests, and, what is still more surprising, even the sanctimonious monk, fell victims to the triumphant charms of the sex, and to the imperious dominion of their carnal lusts, and entering into the bonds of wedlock or concubinage, squandered away in a most luxurious manner, with their wives and mistresses, the revenues of the church [*e*]. The other vice above-mentioned reigned with an equal degree of impudence and licentiousness. The election of bishops and abbots was no longer made according to the laws of the church; but kings and princes, or their ministers and favorites, either conferred these ecclesiastical dignities upon their friends and creatures, or sold them, without shame, to the highest bidder [*f*]. Hence it happened, that the most stupid and flagitious wretches were frequently advanced to the most important stations in the church, and that, upon several occasions, even soldiers, civil magistrates, counts, and such like persons, were, by a strange metamorphosis,

[*d*] RATHERIUS, speaking of the clergy of *Verona*, in his *Itinerarium*, which is published in the *Spicilegium* of DACHERIUS, tom. i. p. 381. says, that he found many among them who could not even repeat the Apostles Creed. His words are: *Sciscitatus de fide illorum, inveni plurimos neque ipsum sapere Symbolum, qui fuisse creditur Apostolorum.*

[*e*] That this custom was introduced towards the commencement of this century is manifest, from the testimony of ORDERICUS VITALIS and other writers, and also from a letter of MANTIO, bishop of *Chalons* in *Champagne*, which is published by MABILLON, in his *Analeſta veterum*, p. 429. edit. nov. As to the charge brought against the Italian monks of their spending the treasures of the church upon their wives or mistresses, see HUGO, *De Monasterii Farfensis destructione*, which is published in MURATORI's *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. vi. p. 278.

[*f*] Many infamous and striking examples and proofs of this simoniacal practice may be found in the work entitled *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 23. 37. tom. ii. p. 173. 179. Add to this ABBONIS *Apologeticum*, which is published at the end of the *Codex Canon. Pitheci*, p. 398. as also MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict*, tom. v.

converted into bishops, and abbots. GREGORY VII endeavoured, in the following century, to put a stop to these two growing evils.

CENT.
X.
PART II.

XI. While the monastic orders, among the Greeks and Orientals, maintained still an external appearance of religion and decency, the Latin monks, towards the commencement of this century, had so entirely lost sight of all subordination and discipline, that the greatest part of them knew not even by name the rule of St. BENEDICT, which they were obliged to observe. A noble Frank, whose name was ODO, a man as learned and pious as the ignorance and superstition of the times would permit, endeavoured to remedy this disorder; nor were his attempts totally unsuccessful. This zealous ecclesiastic being created, in the year 927, abbot of *Clugni*, in the province of *Burgundy*, upon the death of BERNO, not only obliged the monks to live in a rigorous observance of their rules, but also added to their discipline a new set of rites and ceremonies, which, notwithstanding the air of sanctity that attended them, were, in reality, insignificant and trifling, and yet at the same time severe and burthensome [g]. This new rule of discipline covered its author with glory, and, in a short time, was adopted in all the European convents; for the greatest part of the ancient monasteries, which had been founded in *France*, *Germany*, *Italy*, *Britain*, and *Spain*, received the rule of the monks of *Clugni*, to which also the convents, newly established, were subjected by their founders. And thus it was, that the *Order of Clugni* arrived to that high degree of eminence and authority, opulence and dignity, which it exhibited to the Christian world in the following century [h].

The monkish discipline declines to nothing.

[g] See MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. iii. p. 386. and *Pref. ad Acta Sanct. Ord. Benedict. Sæc. v.* p. xxvi. See also the *Acta Sanct. Bened. Sæc. v.* p. 66. in which he speaks largely concerning BERNO, the first abbot of *Clugni*, who laid the foundations of that order, and of ODO (p. 122.) who gave it a new degree of perfection. The learned HELYOT, in his *Histoire des Ordres Religieuses*, tom. v. p. 184. has given a complete and elegant history of the order of *Clugni*, and the present state of that famous monastery is described by MARTENE, in his *Voyage Litter. de deux Benedict.* part I. p. 227.

[h] If we are not mistaken, the greatest part of ecclesiastical historians have not perceived the true meaning and force of the word *order* in

CENT.

X.

PART II.

Greek writers.

XII. The more eminent Greek writers of this century are easily numbered; among them was SIMEON, high treasurer of *Constantinople*, who, from his giving a new and more elegant style to the *Lives of the Saints*, which had been originally composed in a gross and barbarous language, was distinguished by the title of *Metaphrast*, or *Translator* [i]. He did not, however, content himself with digesting, polishing, and embellishing the faintly chronicle, but went so far as to augment it with a multitude of trifling fables drawn from the fecundity of his own imagination.

NICON, an Armenian monk, composed a treatise, *Concerning the Religion of the Armenions*, which is not altogether contemptible.

Some place in this century OLYMPIODORUS [k] and OECUMENIUS, who distinguished themselves by those compilations which were known by the name of *Catenæ*, or *Chains*, and of which we have had occasion to speak more than once in the course of this history. But it is by no means certain, that these two writers belong to the xth century, and they are placed there only by conjecture.

It is much more probable, that the learned SUIDAS, author of the celebrated *Greek Lexicon*, lived in the period now before us.

its application to the *Cistercian* monks, those of *Clugni*, and other convents. They imagine that this term signifies a new monastic institution, as if the *Order of Clugni* was a new sect of monks never before heard of. But this is a great error, into which they fall by confounding the ancient meaning of that term with the sense in which it is used in modern times. The word *order*, when employed by the writers of the xth century, signified no more at first than a certain form or rule of monastic discipline; but from this primitive signification, another, and a secondary one was gradually derived. So that by the word *order* is also understood, an association or confederacy of several monasteries, subjected to the same rule of discipline under the jurisdiction and inspection of one common chief. Hence we conclude, that the *Order of Clugni* was not a new sect of monks, such as were the *Carthusian*, *Dominican*, and *Franciscan Orders*; but signified only, first, that new institution, or rule of discipline, which ODO had prescribed to the *Benedictine* monks, who were settled at *Clugni*, and, afterwards, that prodigious multitude of monasteries throughout *Europe*, which received the rule established at *Clugni*, and were formed by association into a sort of community, of which the abbot of *Clugni* was the chief.

[i] See LEO ALLATIUS, *De Symeonum Scriptis*, p. 24. — JO. BOLANDUS, *Præf. ad Acta Sanctorum Antwerp.* § iii. p. 6.

[k] For an account of OECUMENIUS, see MONTFAUCON *Biblioth. Coisliniana*, p. 274.

Among

Among the Arabians no author acquired a higher reputation than EUTYCHIUS, bishop of *Alexandria*, whose *Annals*, with several other productions of his learned pen, are still extant [l].

C E N T.
X.
P A R T II.

XIII. The most eminent of the Latin writers of this century was GERBERT, or SYLVESTER II, who has already been mentioned with the applause due to his singular merit. The other writers of this age were far from being eminent in any respect.

Latin writ-
ers.

ODO, who laid the foundations of the celebrated *Order of Clugni*, left behind him several productions in which the grossest superstition reigns, and in which it is difficult to perceive the smallest marks of true genius or solid judgment [m].

The learned reader will form a different opinion of RATHER, bishop of *Verona*, whose works, yet extant, give evident proofs of sagacity and judgment, and breathe throughout an ardent love of virtue [n].

ATTO, bishop of *Vercelli*, composed a treatise, *De pressuris Ecclesiasticis*, i. e. *Concerning the Sufferings and Grievances of the Church*, which shews in their true colours the spirit and complexion of the times [o].

DUNSTAN, the famous abbot of *Glassenbury*, and afterwards archbishop of *Canterbury*, composed in favour of the monks a book, *De Concordia Regularum*, i. e. *Concerning the Harmony of the Monastic Rules* [p].

ELFRIC, archbishop of *Canterbury*, acquired a considerable reputation, among the Anglo-Saxons established in *Britain*, by various productions [q].

[l] See JO. ALBERT. FABRICII *Bibliographia Antiquaria*, p. 179.
—As also EUSEBII RENAUDOTI *Historia Patriarch. Alexandr.* p. 347.

[m] *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, tom. vi. p. 229.

[n] Id. Ibid. p. 339.

[o] Id. Ibid. p. 281.

[p] See the ample account that is given of this eminent prelate in COLLIER'S *Ecclesiastical History of England*, vol. i. cent. x. p. 181, 183, 184, 185. 197. 203.

[q] We have a *Grammar* and a *Dictionary* composed by this learned prelate; as also an Anglo-Saxon translation of the *First Books of the Holy Scripture*, *A History of the Church*, and 180 *Sermons*. See FLEURY, *Hist. Eccl.* livre lviii. p. 384. edit. de Bruxelles.

C E N T.
X.
P A R T II.

BURCHARD, bishop of *Worms*, is highly esteemed among the Canonists on account of his celebrated *Decreta*, which he has divided into xx books ; though a part of the merit of this collection of *Canons* is due to OLBERT, with whose assistance it was composed [r].

ODILO, archbishop of *Lions* [s], was the author of some insipid discourses, and other productions, whose mediocrity has almost sunk them in a total oblivion.

As to the historical writers and annalists who lived in this century, their works and abilities have been already considered in their proper place.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the doctrine of the church in this century.

The state of
religion.

THE state of religion in this century was such as might be expected in times of prevailing ignorance and corruption. The most important doctrines of Christianity were disfigured and perverted in the most wretched manner, and such as had preserved, in unskilful hands, their primitive purity, were nevertheless obscured with a multitude of vain opinions and idle fancies, so that their intrinsic excellence and lustre were little attended to ; all this will appear evident to those who look with the smallest degree of attention into the writers of this age. Both Greeks and Latins placed the essence and life of religion in the worship of images, and departed saints, in searching after with zeal, and preserving with a devout care and veneration, the sacred relics of holy men and women, and in accumulating riches upon the priests and monks, whose opulence increased with the progress of superstition. Scarcely did any Christian dare to approach the throne of

[r] See the *Chronicon Wormatiense* in LUDWIG's *Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum*, tom. ii. p. 43.—*Histoire Litter. de la France*, tom. vii. p. 295.

[s] ODILO was abbot of *Cluni*, and not archbishop of *Lions*, which latter eminent station he obstinately refused, notwithstanding the urgent entreaties employed both by pontiffs and emperors to engage him to accept it. See FLEURY, *Hist. Eccl.* livre lix. p. 520. edit. de *Bruxelles*.

God,

God, without rendering first the saints and images propitious by a solemn round of expiatory rites and lustrations. The ardour also with which relics were sought surpasses almost all credibility ; it had seized all ranks and orders among the people, and was grown into a sort of fanaticism and frenzy ; and, if the monks are to be believed, the supreme Being interposed, in an especial and extraordinary manner, to discover to doating old-wives and bare headed friars the places where the bones or carcases of the saints lay dispersed or interred. The fears of purgatory, of that fire that was to destroy the remaining impurities of departed souls, were now carried to the greatest height, and exceeded by far the terrifying apprehensions of infernal torments ; for they hoped to avoid the latter easily, by dying enriched with the prayers of the clergy, or covered with the merits and mediation of the saints ; while from the pains of purgatory they knew there was no exemption. The clergy, therefore, finding these superstitious terrors admirably adapted to increase their authority and to promote their interest, used every method to augment them, and by the most pathetic discourses, accompanied with monstrous fables and fictitious miracles, they laboured to establish the doctrine of purgatory, and also to make it appear that they had a mighty influence in that formidable region.

The disputes concerning predestination and the Lord's supper.

II. The contests concerning predestination, and grace, as also concerning the eucharist, that had agitated the church in the preceding century, were in this happily reduced to silence. This was owing to the mutual toleration that was practised by the contending parties, who, as we learn from writers of undoubted credit, left it to each other's free choice to retain, or to change, their former opinions. Besides, the ignorance and stupidity of this degenerate age were ill suited to such deep inquiries as these contests demanded ; nor was there almost any curiosity among an illiterate multitude to know the opinions of the ancient doctors concerning these and other knotty points of theology. Thus it happened, that the followers of AUGUSTIN and PELAGIUS flourished equally in this century ; and that, if there were many who maintained the corporal presence of the body and blood of CHRIST in the holy sacrament, there were still more, who either

CENT.
X.
PART II.

Superstition
nourished by
a multitude
of vain and
idle opini-
ons.

came to no fixed determination upon this point, or declared it publicly as their opinion, that the divine Saviour was really absent from the eucharistical sacrament, and was received only by a certain inward impulse of faith, and that in a manner wholly spiritual [t]. This mutual toleration, as it is easy to conclude from what has been already observed, must not be attributed either to the wisdom or virtue of an age, which was almost totally destitute of both. The truth of the matter is, that the divines of this century wanted both the capacity and the inclination to attack or defend any doctrine, whose refutation or defence required the smallest portion of learning or logic.

III. That the whole Christian world was covered, at this time, with a thick and gloomy veil of superstition, is evident from a prodigious number of testimonies and examples which it is needless to mention. This horrible cloud, which hid almost every ray of truth from the eyes of the multitude, furnished a favourable opportunity to the priests and monks of propagating many absurd and ridiculous opinions, which contributed not a little to confirm their credit. Among these opinions, which dishonoured so frequently the Latin church, and produced from time to time such violent agitations, none occasioned such a universal panic, nor such dreadful impressions of terror or dismay, as a notion that now prevailed of the immediate approach of the day of judgment. This notion, which took its rise from a remarkable passage in the *Revelations of St. JOHN* [u], and had been entertained by

[t] It is certain, that the Latin doctors of this century differed much in their sentiments about the manner in which the body and blood of CHRIST were present in the eucharist; this is granted by such of the Roman catholic writers as have been ingenuous enough to sacrifice the spirit of party to the love of truth. That the doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, as it is commonly called, was unknown to the English in this century, has been abundantly proved from the public *Homilies* by RAPIN DE THOYRAS, in his *History of England*, vol. i. p. 463. It is, however, to be confessed, on the other hand, that this absurd doctrine was already adopted by several French and German divines. ¶ For a judicious account of the opinions of the Saxon English church concerning the eucharist, see COLLIER'S *Ecclesiastical History of Great-Britain*, vol. i. cent. x. p. 204. 266.

¶ [u] The passage here referred to, is in the xxth chapter of the *Book of Revelations*, at the 2, 3, and 4th verses, "And he laid hold of the dragon, that old serpent, which is the devil and satan,

some

some doctors in the preceding century, was advanced publicly by many at this time, and spreading itself with an amazing rapidity through the European provinces, it threw them into the deepest consternation and anguish. For they imagined that St. JOHN had clearly foretold that after a thousand years from the birth of CHRIST, SATAN was to be let loose from his prison, ANTICHRIST to come, and the destruction and conflagration of the world to follow these great and terrible events. Hence prodigious numbers of people abandoned all their civil connexions and their parental relations, and giving over to the churches or monasteries all their lands, treasures, and worldly effects, repaired, with the utmost precipitation, to *Palestine*, where they imagined that CHRIST would descend from heaven to judge the world. Others devoted themselves by a solemn and voluntary oath to the service of the churches, convents, and priesthood, whose slaves they became, in the most rigorous sense of that word, performing daily their heavy tasks ; and all this from a notion, that the supreme Judge would diminish the severity of their sentence, and look upon them with a more favourable and propitious eye, on account of their having made themselves the slaves of his ministers. When an eclipse of the sun or moon happened to be visible, the cities were deserted, and their miserable inhabitants fled for refuge to hollow caverns, and hid themselves among the craggy rocks, and under the bending summits of steep mountains. The opulent attempted to bribe the Deity and the saintly tribe by rich donations conferred upon the sacerdotal and monastic orders, who were looked upon as the immediate vice-gerents of heaven. In many places, temples, palaces, and noble edifices, both public and private, were suffered to decay, nay, were deliberately pulled down, from a notion that

“and bound him *a thousand years* ;—and cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled ; and after that he must be loosed a little season.—And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them : and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands ; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years.”

they

C E N T.
X.
P A R T II.

they were no longer of any use since the final dissolution of all things was at hand. In a word, no language is sufficient to express the confusion and despair that tormented the minds of miserable mortals upon this occasion. This general delusion was, indeed, opposed and combated by the discerning few, who endeavoured to dispel these groundless terrors, and to efface the notion from which they arose, in the minds of the people. But their attempts were ineffectual; nor could the dreadful apprehensions of the superstitious multitude be entirely removed before the conclusion of this century. Then, when they saw that the so much dreaded period had passed without the arrival of any great calamity, they began to understand that St. JOHN had not really foretold, what they so much feared [w].

The saints
multiplied.

IV. The number of the saints, who were looked upon as ministers of the kingdom of heaven, and whose patronage was esteemed such an unspeakable blessing, was now multiplied every where, and the celestial courts were filled with new legions of this species of beings, some of which, as we have had formerly occasion to observe, had no existence but in the imagination of their deluded clients and worshipers. This multiplication of saints may be easily accounted for, when we consider that superstition, the

[w] Almost all the donations that were made to the church during this century, carry evident marks of this groundless panic that had seized all the European nations, as the reasons of these donations are generally expressed in the following words: *Appropinquante mundi termino, &c. i. e. The end of the world being now at hand, &c.* Among the many undeniable testimonies that we have from ancient records of this universal delusion, that was so profitable to the sacerdotal order, we shall confine ourselves to the quotation of one very remarkable passage in the *Apologeticum* of ABBO, abbot of Fleury, *adversus Arnulphum*, i. e. ARNOUL bishop of Orleans, which apology is published by the learned FRANCIS PITHOU, in the *Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Romanæ*, p. 401. The words of ABBO are as follow: *De fine quoque mundi coram populo sermonem in Ecclesia Parisiorum Adolescentulus audiivi, quod statim finito mille annorum numero Antichristus adveniret, et non longo post tempore universale judicium succederet: cui prædicationi ex Evangeliiis, ac Apocalypsi, et libro Danielis quæ potui virtute restiti. Denique et errorem, qui de fine mundi inolevit, Abbas meus beatæ memoriæ Richardus, sagaci animo propulit, postquam litteras à Lothariensibus accepit, quibus me respondere iussit. Nam fama pæne totum mundum impleverat, quod, quando Annunciatio Dominica in Parasceve contigisset, absque ullo scrupulo finis sæculi esset.*

source

source of fear, was grown to such an enormous height in this age, as rendered the creation of new patrons necessary to calm the anxiety of trembling mortals. Besides, the corruption and impiety that now reigned with a horrid sway, and the licentiousness and dissolution that had so generally infected all ranks and orders of men, rendered the reputation of sanctity very easy to be acquired; for amidst such a perverse generation, it demanded no great efforts of virtue to be esteemed holy, and this, no doubt, contributed to increase considerably the number of the celestial advocates. All those, to whom nature had given an austere complexion, a gloomy temper, or an enthusiastic imagination, were, in consequence of an advantageous comparison with the profligate multitude, revered as the favourites of heaven, and as the friends of God.

The Roman pontif, who before this period had pretended to the right of creating saints by his sole authority, gave, in this century, the first specimen of this ghostly power; for in the preceding ages there is no example of his having exercised this privilege alone. This specimen was given in the year 993, by JOHN XV, who, with all the formalities of a solemn canonization, enrolled UDALRIC, bishop of *Augsburg*, in the number of the saints, and thus conferred upon him a title to the worship and veneration of Christians [x]. We must not, however, conclude from hence, that after this period the privilege of canonizing new saints was vested solely in the Roman pontifs [y]; for there are several examples upon record, which prove, that not only provincial councils, but also several of the first order among the bishops, advanced to the rank of saints, such as they thought worthy of that high dignity, and continued thus to augment the celestial patrons of the church, without ever consulting the Roman pontif, until the XIIth century [z]. Then ALEXANDER III abrogated this privilege of the bishops and councils,

[x] FRANC. PAGI *Breviar. Pontif. Roman.* tom. ii. p. 259.

[y] This absurd opinion has been maintained with warmth by PHIL. BONNANUS, in his *Numismata Pontif. Romanorum*, tom. i. p. 41.

[z] See FRANC. PAGI *Breviar. Pontif. Roman.* tom. ii. p. 260. tom. iii. p. 30.—ARM. DE LA CHAPELLE, *Biblioth. Angloise*, tom. x. p. 105.—MABILLON, *Præfat. ad Sac. v. Benedict.* p. 53.

CENT.
X.
PART II.

they were no longer of any use since the final dissolution of all things was at hand. In a word, no language is sufficient to express the confusion and despair that tormented the minds of miserable mortals upon this occasion. This general delusion was, indeed, opposed and combated by the discerning few, who endeavoured to dispel these groundless terrors, and to efface the notion from which they arose, in the minds of the people. But their attempts were ineffectual; nor could the dreadful apprehensions of the superstitious multitude be entirely removed before the conclusion of this century. Then, when they saw that the so much dreaded period had passed without the arrival of any great calamity, they began to understand that St. JOHN had not really foretold, what they so much feared [w].

The saints
multiplied.

IV. The number of the saints, who were looked upon as ministers of the kingdom of heaven, and whose patronage was esteemed such an unspeakable blessing, was now multiplied every where, and the celestial courts were filled with new legions of this species of beings, some of which, as we have had formerly occasion to observe, had no existence but in the imagination of their deluded clients and worshippers. This multiplication of saints may be easily accounted for, when we consider that superstition, the

[w] Almost all the donations that were made to the church during this century, carry evident marks of this groundless panic that had seized all the European nations, as the reasons of these donations are generally expressed in the following words: *Appropinquante mundi termino, &c. i. e. The end of the world being now at hand, &c.* Among the many undeniable testimonies that we have from ancient records of this universal delusion, that was so profitable to the sacerdotal order, we shall confine ourselves to the quotation of one very remarkable passage in the *Apologeticum* of ABBO, abbot of Fleury, *adversus Arnulphum*, i. e. ARNOUL bishop of Orleans, which apology is published by the learned FRANCIS PITHOU, in the *Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Romanæ*, p. 401. The words of ABBO are as follow: *De fine quoque mundi coram populo sermonem in Ecclesia Parisiorum Adolescentulus audi-vi, quod statim finito mille annorum numero Antichristus adveniret, et non longo post tempore universale judicium succederet: cui prædicationi ex Evangeliiis, ac Apocalypsi, et libro Danielis quæ potui virtute restiti. Denique et errorem, qui de fine mundi inolevit, Abbas meus beatæ memoriæ Richardus, sagaci animo propulit, postquam litteras à Lothariensibus accepit, quibus me respondere jussit. Nam fama pæne totum mundum impleverat, quod, quando Annunciatio Dominica in Parasceve contigisset, absque ullo scrupulo finis sæculi esset.*

source

source of fear, was grown to such an enormous height in this age, as rendered the creation of new patrons necessary to calm the anxiety of trembling mortals. Besides, the corruption and impiety that now reigned with a horrid sway, and the licentiousness and dissolution that had so generally infected all ranks and orders of men, rendered the reputation of sanctity very easy to be acquired; for amidst such a perverse generation, it demanded no great efforts of virtue to be esteemed holy, and this, no doubt, contributed to increase considerably the number of the celestial advocates. All those, to whom nature had given an austere complexion, a gloomy temper, or an enthusiastic imagination, were, in consequence of an advantageous comparison with the profligate multitude, revered as the favourites of heaven, and as the friends of God.

The Roman pontif, who before this period had pretended to the right of creating saints by his sole authority, gave, in this century, the first specimen of this ghostly power; for in the preceding ages there is no example of his having exercised this privilege alone. This specimen was given in the year 993, by JOHN XV, who, with all the formalities of a solemn canonization, enrolled UDALRIC, bishop of *Augsburg*, in the number of the saints, and thus conferred upon him a title to the worship and veneration of Christians [x]. We must not, however, conclude from hence, that after this period the privilege of canonizing new saints was vested solely in the Roman pontifs [y]; for there are several examples upon record, which prove, that not only provincial councils, but also several of the first order among the bishops, advanced to the rank of saints, such as they thought worthy of that high dignity, and continued thus to augment the celestial patrons of the church, without ever consulting the Roman pontif, until the XIIth century [z]. Then ALEXANDER III abrogated this privilege of the bishops and councils,

[x] FRANC. PAGI *Breviar. Pontif. Roman.* tom. ii. p. 259.

[y] This absurd opinion has been maintained with warmth by PHIL. BONNANUS, in his *Numismata Pontif. Romanorum*, tom. i. p. 41.

[z] See FRANC. PAGI *Breviar. Pontif. Roman.* tom. ii. p. 260. tom. iii. p. 30.—ARM. DE LA CHAPELLE, *Biblioth. Angloise*, tom. x. p. 105.—MABILLON, *Præfat. ad Sæc. v. Benedict.* p. 53.

and

C E N T.
X.
P A R T II.

The merit
of the com-
mentators of
this century
considered.

and placed *canonization* in the number of the more important acts of authority [a], which the sovereign pontiff alone, by a peculiar prerogative, was entitled to exercise.

V. The expositors and commentators, who attempted in this century to illustrate and explain the sacred writings, were too mean in their abilities, and too unsuccessful in their undertakings, to deserve almost any notice; for it is extremely uncertain, whether or no the works of OLYMPIODORUS and OECUMENIUS are to be considered as the production of this age. Among the Latins REMI, or REMIGIUS, bishop of *Auxerre*, continued the exposition of the holy scriptures, which he had begun in the preceding century; but his work is highly defective in various respects; for he takes very little pains in explaining the literal sense of the words, and employs the whole force of his fantastic genius in unfolding their pretended mystical signification, which he looked upon as infinitely more interesting than their plain and literal meaning. Besides, his explications are rarely the fruit of his own genius and invention, but are, generally speaking, mere compilations from ancient commentators. As to the *Moral observations of ODO upon the book of Job* [b], they are transcribed from a work of GREGORY the Great, which bears the same title. We mention no more; if, however, any are desirous of an ample account of those who were esteemed the principal commentators in this century, they will find it in a book wrote professedly upon this subject by NOTKERUS BALBULUS.

The state of
theology and
morals in
this century.

VI. The science of theology was absolutely abandoned in this century; nor did either the Greek or Latin church furnish any writer, who attempted to explain in a regular method the doctrines of Christianity. The Greeks were contented with the works of DAMASCENUS, and the Latins with those of AUGUSTIN and GREGORY, who were now considered as the greatest doctors that had adorned the church. Some added to these the writings of venerable BEDE and RABANUS MAURUS. The important science of morals was still more neglected than that of

[a] These were called the *Causæ Majores*.

[b] *Moralia in Jobum*.

theology in this wretched age, and was reduced to a certain number of dry and insipid homilies, and to the lives of the saints, which SIMEON among the Greeks, and HUBALD, ODO, and STEPHEN [c] among the Latins, had drawn up with a seducing eloquence, that covered the most impertinent fictions. Such was the miserable state of morals and theology in this century; in which, as we may farther observe, there did not appear any defence of the Christian religion against its professed enemies.

VII. The controversies between the Greek and Latin churches were now carried on with less noise and impetuosity than in the preceding century, on account of the troubles and calamities of the times; yet they were not entirely reduced to silence [d]. The writers therefore who affirm, that this unhappy schism was healed, and that the contending parties were really reconciled to each other for a certain space of time, have grossly mistaken the matter [e]; though it be, indeed, true, that the tumults of the times produced now and then a cessation of these contests, and occasioned several truces, which insidiously concealed the bitterest enmity, and served often as a cover to the most treacherous designs. The Greeks were, moreover, divided among themselves, and disputed with great warmth concerning the lawfulness of repeated [f] marriages, to which violent contest the case of LEO, surnamed the *Philosopher*, gave rise. This emperor, having buried successively three wives without having had by them any male issue, espoused a fourth, whose name was ZOE CARBINOPSINA, and who was born in the obscurity of a mean condition. As marriages repeated for the fourth time were held to be impure and unlawful by the Greek canons, NICOLAS, the patriarch of *Constantinople*, suspended the emperor, upon this occasion, from the communion of the church. LEO, incensed at this rigorous proceeding, de-

The contro-
versies be-
tween the
Greek and
Latin
churches.

[c] Bishop of *Liege*.

[d] MICH. LEQUIEN. *Dissert. i. Damascanica de processione Spiritus Sancti*, § xiii. p. 12.—FRED. SPANHEIM, *De perpetua dissensione Ecclesie Oriental. et Occidental.* part IV. § vii. p. 529. tom. ii. opp.

[e] LEO ALLATIUS, *De perpetua consensione Ecclesie Oriental. et Occident.* lib. ii. cap. vii, viii. p. 600.

[f] Fourth marriages, our author undoubtedly means, since second and third nuptials were allowed upon certain conditions.

C E N T.
X.
P A R T II.

prived NICOLAS of the patriarchal dignity, and raised EUTHYMIUS to that high office, who, though he re-admitted the emperor to the bosom of the church, yet opposed the law which he had resolved to enact in order to render fourth marriages lawful. Upon this a schism, attended with the bitterest animosities, divided the clergy, one part of which declared for NICOLAS, the other for EUTHYMIUS. Some time after this, LEO died, and was succeeded in the empire by ALEXANDER, who deposed EUTHYMIUS, and restored NICOLAS to his eminent rank in the church. No sooner was this warm patriarch re-instated in his office, than he began to load the memory of the late emperor with the bitterest execrations and the most opprobrious invectives, and to maintain the unlawfulness of fourth marriages with the utmost obstinacy. In order to appease these tumults, which portended numberless calamities to the state, CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGÈNNETA, the son of LEO, called together an assembly of the clergy of *Constantinople* in the year 920, in which fourth marriages were absolutely prohibited, and marriages for the third time were permitted on certain conditions; and thus the public tranquillity was restored [g].

Several other contests of like moment arose among the Greeks during this century; and they serve to convince us of the ignorance that prevailed among that people, and of their blind veneration and zeal for the opinions of their ancestors.

C H A P. IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the church during this century.

Ceremonies
multiplied.

I. **I**N order to have some notion of the load of ceremonies, under which the Christian religion groaned during this superstitious age, we have only to cast an eye upon the acts of the various councils which were assembled

[g] These facts are faithfully collected from CEDRENUS, LEON-CLAVIUS *De Jure Græco-Rom.* tom. i. p. 104. from LEO the grammarian, SIMÉON the treasurer, and other writers of the Byzantine history.

in

in *England, Germany, France, and Italy*. The number of ceremonies increased in proportion to that of the saints, which multiplied from day to day; for each new saintly patron had appropriated to his service, a new festival, a new form of worship, a new round of religious rites; and the clergy, notwithstanding their gross stupidity in other matters, discovered, in the creation of new ceremonies, a marvellous fertility of invention, attended with the utmost dexterity and artifice. It is also to be observed, that a great part of these new rites derived their origin from the various errors, which the barbarous nations had received from their ancestors, and still retained, even after their conversion to Christianity. The clergy, instead of extirpating these errors, either gave them a Christian aspect by inventing certain religious rites to cover their deformity, or by explaining them in a forced allegorical manner; and thus they were perpetuated in the church and devoutly transmitted from age to age. We may also attribute a considerable number of the rites and institutions, that dishonoured religion, in this century, to foolish notions both concerning the supreme Being, and departed saints; for they imagined that God was like the princes and great ones of the earth, who are rendered propitious by costly presents, and are delighted with those cringing salutations, and other marks of veneration and homage, which they receive from their subjects; and they believed likewise that departed spirits were agreeably affected with the same kind of services.

II. The famous yearly festival that was celebrated in remembrance of *all departed souls*, was instituted by the authority of ODILO, abbot of *Cluni*, and added to the Latin calendar towards the conclusion of this century [b]. Before this time, a custom had been introduced in many places of putting up prayers, on certain days, for the souls that were confined in purgatory; but these prayers were made by each religious society, only for its own members, friends, and patrons. The pious zeal of ODILO could not be confined within such narrow limits; and he therefore extended the benefit of these prayers to all the souls,

[b] In the year 998.

that

C E N T.
X.
P A R T II.

Festivals.

C E N T.
X.
P A R T II.

The office
of the holy
Virgin
Mary.

Institution of
the rosary.

that laboured under the pains and trials of *purgatory* [i]. This proceeding of ODILO was owing to the exhortations of a certain Sicilian hermit, who pretended to have learned, by an immediate revelation from heaven, that the prayers of the monks of *Cluni* would be effectual for the deliverance of departed spirits from the expiatory flames of a middle state [k]. Accordingly this festival was, at first, celebrated only by the *congregation of Cluni*; but having received afterwards the approbation of one of the Roman pontifs, it was, by his order, kept with particular devotion in all the Latin churches.

III. The worship of the Virgin MARY, which, before this century, had been carried to a very high degree of idolatry, received now new accessions of solemnity and superstition. Towards the conclusion of this century, a custom was introduced among the Latins of celebrating masses and abstaining from flesh in honour of the blessed Virgin, every Sabbath day. After this was instituted, what the Latins called, the *lesser office*, in honour of St. MARY, which was, in the following century, confirmed by URBAN II, in the council of *Clermont*. There are also to be found in this age manifest indications of the institution of the *rosary*, and *crown* of the Virgin, by which her worshipers were to reckon the number of prayers that they were to offer to this new divinity; for though some place the invention of the *Rosary* in the xiiith century, and attribute it to St. DOMINIC, yet this supposition is made without any foundation [l]. The *rosary* consists in fifteen repetitions of the Lord's prayer, and an hundred and fifty salutations of the blessed Virgin; while the *crown*, according to the different opinions of the learned concern-

[i] See MABILLON, *Acta SS. Ord. Bened. Sac. vi.* part I. p. 584. where the reader will find the *Life of Odilo*, with the decree he issued forth for the institution of this festival.

[k] The late pontif BENEDICT XIV was artful enough to observe a profound silence with respect to the superstitious and dishonourable origin of this anniversary festival, in his treatise *De Festis J. Christi, Mariæ, et Sanctorum*, lib. iii. cap. xxii. p. 671. tom. x. oper. and by his silence he has plainly shewn to the world what he thought of this absurd festival. This is not the only mark of prudence and cunning, that is to be found in the works of that famous pontif.

[l] This is demonstrated by MABILLON, *Præf. ad Acta SS. Ord. Bened. Sac. v.* p. 58.

ing the age of the blessed Virgin, consists in six or seven repetitions of the Lord's prayer, and six or seven times ten salutations, or *Ave Maria's*.

C E N T.
X.
P A R T II.

C H A P. V.

Concerning the heresies and divisions that troubled the church, during this Century.

I. **T**HE profound ignorance and stupidity, that were productive of so many evils in this century, had, at least, this advantage attending them, that they contributed much to the tranquillity of the church, and prevented the rise of new sects and new commotions of a religious kind. But, though no new inventions were broached, the ancient errors still remained. The Nestorians and Monophysites lived still under the Arabian government, where, however, they were much more rigorously treated than in former times, and were often persecuted with the utmost injustice and violence. But as some of them excelled in medical knowledge, which was highly esteemed among the Arabians, while others rendered themselves acceptable to the great, by the dextrous management of their domestic affairs, as overseers and stewards, all this contributed to diminish the violence of the storms that arose against them from time to time.

Ancient heresies continue.

II. The Manichæans or Paulicians, whose errors have been already pointed out, gathered considerable strength in *Thrace* under the reign of JOHN TZIMISCES. A great part of this sect had been transported into this province, by the order of CONSTANTINE COPRONYMUS, so early as the seventh century, to put an end to the troubles and tumults they had excited in the east; but a still greater number of them were left behind, especially in *Syria* and the adjacent countries. Hence it was, that THEODORE, bishop of *Antioch*, from a pious apprehension of the danger to which his flock lay exposed from the neighbourhood of such pernicious heretics, engaged the emperor, by his ardent and importunate solicitations, to send a new colony of these Manichæans from *Syria* to *Philippi* [m]. From

The Paulicians.

[m] JO. ZONARAS *Annal.* lib. xvii. p. 209. edit. *Paris.* p. 164. edit. *Venet.*

C E N T.
X.
P A R T II.

Troubles
excited by
Leutard.

Thrace this restless and turbulent sect passed into *Bulgaria* and *Sclavonia*, where they resided under the jurisdiction of their own pontif, or patriarch, until the time of the council of *Basil*, i. e. until the xvth century. From *Bulgaria* the Paulicians removed to *Italy*, and spreading themselves from thence through the other provinces of *Europe*, they became extremely troublesome to the Roman pontifs upon many occasions [n].

III. In the very last year of this century arose a certain teacher, whose name was LEUTARD, who lived at *Vertus*, in the diocese of *Chalons*, and, in a short time, drew after him a considerable number of disciples. This new doctor could not bear the superstitious worship of images, which he is said to have opposed with the utmost vehemence, and even to have broke in pieces an image of CHRIST, which he found in a church where he went to perform his devotions. He, moreover, exclaimed with the greatest warmth against paying tythes to the priests, and in several other respects shewed that he was no cordial friend to the sacerdotal order. But that which shewed evidently that he was a dangerous fanatic, was his affirming that in the prophecies of the Old Testament there was a manifest mixture of truth and falshood. GEBOUIN, bishop of *Chalons*, examined the pretensions which this man made to divine inspiration, and exposed his extravagance to the view of the public, whom he had so artfully seduced; upon which he threw himself into a well, and ended his days as many fanatics have done after him [o]. It is highly probable, that this upstart doctor taught many other absurd notions besides those which we have now mentioned, and that after his death, his disciples made a part of the sect that was afterwards known in *France* under the name of the Albigenfes, and which is said to have adopted the Manichæan errors.

The Anthro-
pomorphites.

IV. There were yet subsisting some remains of the sect of the Arians in several parts of *Italy*, and particularly in the territory of *Padua*; but RATHERIUS, bishop of *Verona*, had a still more enormous heresy to combat in

[n] It is extremely probable, as we have already had occasion to observe, that the remains of this sect are still to be found in *Bulgaria*.

[o] All this is related by GLABER RADULPHUS *Hist. lib. ii. cap. xi.*

the system of the Anthropomorphites, which was revived in the year 939. In the district of *Vicenza*, a considerable number not only of the illiterate multitude, but also of the sacerdotal order, fell into that most absurd and extravagant notion, that the Deity was cloathed with a human form, and seated, like an earthly monarch, upon a throne of gold, and that his angelic ministers were men arrayed in white garments, and furnished with wings to render them more expeditious in executing their sovereign's orders. This monstrous error will appear less astonishing, when we consider, that the stupid and illiterate multitude had constantly before their eyes in all the churches, the supreme Being and his angels represented in pictures and images with the human figure.

The superstition of another set of blinded wretches, mentioned also by RATHERIUS, was yet more unaccountable and absurd than that of the Anthropomorphites; for they imagined that, every Monday, mass was performed in heaven by St. MICHAEL in the presence of God, and hence on that day they resorted in crowds to all the churches which were dedicated to that highly-honoured saint [p]. It is more than probable, that the avarice of the priests, who officiated in the church of St. MICHAEL, was the real source of this extravagant fancy; and that in this, as in many other cases, a rapacious clergy took advantage of the credulity of the people, and made them believe whatever they thought would contribute to augment the opulence of the church.

[p] RATHERII *Epist. Synodica* in DACHERII *Spicilegio Script. Veter.* tom. ii. p. 294.—SIGEBERTUS *Gemblac. Chronol.* ad A. 939.

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

The External HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the prosperous events that happened to the church during this century.

CENT. I.
XI.
PART I.

Christianity
propagated.

IN the preceding century some faint notions of the Christian religion, some scattered rays of that divine light which it administers to mortals, had been received among the Hungarians, Danes, Poles, and Russians; but the rude and savage spirit of these nations, together with their deplorable ignorance and their violent attachment to the superstitions of their ancestors, rendered their total conversion to Christianity a work of great difficulty, and which could not be accomplished all of a sudden. The zeal, however, with which this important work was carried on, did much honour to the piety of the princes and governors of these unpolished countries, who united their influence with the labours of the learned men whom they had invited into their dominions, to open the eyes of their subjects upon the truth [a]. In *Tartary* [b], and the adjacent countries, the zeal and diligence of the Nesto-

[a] For an account of the Poles, Russians, and Hungarians, see ROMUALDI *Vita in Actis Sanctorum* tom. ii. Februar. p. 113, 114, 117.

[b] *Tartary* is taken here in its most comprehensive sense; for between the inhabitants of *Tartary*, properly so called, and the Calmucs, Mogols, and the inhabitants of *Tangut*, there is a manifest difference.

rians gained over daily vast numbers to the profession of Christianity. It appears also evident from a multitude of unexceptionable testimonies, that Metropolitan prelates, with a great number of inferior bishops under their jurisdiction, were established at this time in the provinces of *Casgar*, *Nuacheta*, *Turkestan*, *Genda*, and *Tangut* [c]; from which we may conclude, that, in this and the following century, there was a prodigious number of Christians in those very countries, which are at present over-run with mahometanism and idolatry. All these Christians were undoubtedly Nestorians, and lived under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of that sect, who resided in *Chaldaea*.

C E N T.
XI.
PART I.

The conversion of certain nations attempted in vain.

II. Among the European nations that lay yet groveling in their native darkness and superstition, were the Sclavonians, the Obotriti [d], the Venedi [e], and the Prussians, whose conversion had been attempted, but with little or no success, by certain missionaries, from whose piety and zeal better fruits might have been expected. Towards the conclusion of the preceding century, ADALBERT, bishop of *Prague*, had endeavoured to instil into the minds of the fierce and savage Prussians, the salutary doctrines of the

[c] MARCUS PAUL. VENETUS *De Regionibus Orientalibus*, lib. i. cap. 38. 40. 45. 47, 48, 49. 62, 63, 64. lib. ii. cap. 39.—EUSEB. RENAUDOT *Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine*, p. 420.—JOS. SIMON. ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. part II. p. DII, &c. This successful propagation of the gospel, by the ministry of the Nestorians, in *Tartary*, *China*, and the neighbouring provinces, is a most important event, and every way worthy to employ the researches and the pen of some able writer, well acquainted with oriental history. It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that, if this subject be important, it is also difficult on many accounts. It was attempted, however, notwithstanding its difficulty, by the most learned THEOPH. SIGIFRED. BAYER, who had collected a great quantity of materials relative to this interesting branch of the history of Christianity, both from the works that have been published upon this subject, and from manuscripts that lie yet concealed in the cabinets of the curious. But, unhappily for the republic of letters, the death of that excellent man interrupted his labours, and prevented him from executing a design, which was worthy of his superior abilities, and his well-known zeal, for the interests of religion.

[d] The Obotriti were a great and powerful branch of the Vandals, whose kings resided in the country of *Mecklenburg*, and whose domination extended along the coasts of the *Baltic* from the river *Pene* in *Pomerania* to the dutchy of *Holstein*.

[e] The Venedi dwelt upon the banks of the *Weissel*, or *Vistula*, in, what is at present called, the Palatinate of *Marienburg*.

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T I.

gospel; but he perished in the fruitless attempt, and received, in the year 996, from the murdering lance of SIGGO, a Pagan priest, the crown of martyrdom [f]. BOLESLAUS, king of *Poland*, revenged the death of this pious apostle by entering into a bloody war with the Prussians, and he obtained by the force of penal laws and of a victorious army, what ADALBERT could not effect by exhortation and argument [g]. He dragooned this savage people into the Christian church; yet besides this violent method of conversion, others of a more gentle kind were certainly practised by the attendants of BOLESLAUS, who seconded the military arguments of their prince by the more persuasive influence of admonition and instruction. A certain ecclesiastic of illustrious birth, whose name was BONIFACE, and who was one of the disciples of St. ROMUALD, undertook the conversion of the Prussians, and was succeeded in this pious enterprize by BRUNO [h], who set out from *Germany* with a company of eighteen persons who had entered with zeal into the same laudable design. These were, however, all barbarously massacred by the fierce and cruel Prussians, and neither the vigorous efforts of BOLESLAUS, nor of the succeeding kings of *Poland*, could engage this rude and inflexible nation to abandon totally the idolatry of their ancestors [i].

The Saracens driven out of Sicily.

III. *Sicily* had been groaning under the dominion of the Saracens since the ninth century, nor had the repeated attempts of the Greeks and Latins to dispossess them of that rich and fertile country, been hitherto crowned with the desired success. But in this century the face of affairs changed entirely in that island; for in the year 1059, ROBERT GUISCARD, who had formed a settlement in

[f] See the *Acta Sanctor. ad d. xxiii. Aprilis*, p. 174.

[g] SOLIGNAC *Hist. de Pologne*, tom. i. p. 133.

[h] FLEURY differs from Dr. MOSHEIM in his account of Bruno, in two points. First he maintains, that Boniface and Bruno were one and the same person, and here he is manifestly in the right; but he maintains farther, that he suffered martyrdom in *Russia*, in which he is evidently mistaken. It is proper farther to admonish the reader to distinguish carefully the Bruno here mentioned, from a monk of the same name, who founded the order of the Carthusians.

[i] ANT. PAGI *Critica in Baronium*, tom. iv. ad Annum 1008. p. 97.—CHRIST. HARTKNOCH's *Ecclesiastical History of Prussia*, book I. ch. i. p. 12.

Italy at the head of a Norman colony, and was afterwards created duke of *Apulia*, encouraged by the exhortations of the Roman pontif NICHOLAS II, and seconded by the assistance of his brother ROGER, attacked with the greatest vigour and intrepidity the Saracens in *Sicily*; nor did this latter sheath the victorious sword, before he had rendered himself master of that island, and cleared it absolutely of its former tyrants. As soon as this great work was accomplished, which was not before the year 1090, Count ROGER not only restored to its former glory and lustre the Christian religion, which had been almost totally extinguished under the Saracen yoke, but also established bishoprics, founded monasteries, erected magnificent churches throughout that province, and bestowed upon the clergy those immense revenues and those distinguished honours which they still enjoy [k]. It is in the privileges conferred upon this valiant chief, that we find the origin of that supreme authority in matters of religion, which is still vested in the kings of *Sicily*, within the limits of their own territories, and which is known by the name of the *Sicilian monarchy*; for the Roman pontif URBAN II is said to have granted, A. D. 1097, by a special diploma, to ROGER and his successors the title, authority, and prerogatives of hereditary legates of the apostolic see. The court of *Rome* affirms, that this diploma is not authentic: and hence those warm contentions, about the spiritual supremacy, that have arisen even in our times between the bishops of *Rome* and the kings of *Sicily*. The successors of ROGER governed that island, under the title of dukes, until the twelfth century, when it was erected into a kingdom [l].

IV. The Roman pontifs, from the time of SILVESTER II, had been forming plans for extending the limits of the church in *Asia*, and especially for driving the Mahometans out of *Palestine*; but the troubles, in which *Europe* was so long involved, prevented the execution of these arduous designs. GREGORY VII, the most enterprising and audacious pontif that ever sat in the Apostolic chair, animated and inflamed by the repeated complaints which

Expeditions
formed a-
gainst the
Saracens in
Palestine.

[k] See BURIGNI *Histoire Generale de la Sicile*, tom. i. p. 386.

[l] See BARONII *Liber de Monarchia Siciliae*, tom. xi. *Annal.* as also DU PIN *Traité de la Monarchie Sicilienne*.

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T I.

the Asiatic Christians made of the cruelty of the Saracens, resolved to undertake in person a holy war for the deliverance of the church, and upwards of fifty thousand men were already mustered to follow him in this bold expedition [m]. But his quarrel with the emperor HENRY IV, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, and other unforeseen occurrences, obliged him to lay aside his intended invasion of the holy land. The project, however, was renewed, towards the conclusion of this century, by the enthusiastic zeal of an inhabitant of *Amiens*, who was known by the name of PETER the Hermit, and who suggested to the Roman pontif URBAN II the means of accomplishing what had been unluckily suspended. This famous hermit, in a voyage which he had made through *Palestine* A. D. 1093, had observed, with inexpressible anguish, the vexations and persecutions which the Christians, who visited the holy places, suffered from the barbarous and tyrannic Saracens. Inflamed therefore with a holy indignation and a furious zeal, which he looked upon as the effects of a divine impulse, he implored the succours of SYMEON, patriarch of *Constantinople*, and URBAN II, but without effect. Far from being discouraged by this, he renewed his efforts with the utmost vigour, went through all the countries of *Europe* sounding the alarm of a *holy war* against the infidel nations, and exhorting all Christian princes to draw the sword against the tyrants of *Palestine*; nor did he stop here; but with a view to engage the superstitious and ignorant multitude in his cause, he carried about with him a letter, which he said was written in heaven, and addressed from thence to all true Christians to animate their zeal for the deliverance of their brethren, who groaned under the oppressive burthen of a Mahometan yoke [n].

The progress
of the holy
war.

V. When URBAN II saw the way prepared by the exhortations of the hermit, who had put the spirits of the people every where in a ferment, and had kindled in their

[m] GREGORII VII *Epist.* lib. ii. 3. in HARDUINI *Concilii*, tom. vi. part I. p. 1285.

[n] This circumstance is mentioned by the abbot DODECHINUS, in his *Continuat. Chronici Mariani Scoti Scriptor. Germanicor.* Jo. PISTORII, tom. i. p. 462. For an account of PETER, see DU FRESNE *Notæ ad Annæ Comnenæ Alexiadem*, p. 79. edit. Venet.

breasts a vehement zeal for that holy carnage which the church had been meditating so long, he assembled a grand and numerous council at *Placentia* A. D. 1095, and recommended warmly, for the first time, the sacred expedition against the infidel Saracens [o]. This arduous enterprize was far from being approved of by the greatest part of this numerous assembly, notwithstanding the presence of the emperor's legates, who, in their master's name, represented most pathetically how necessary it was to set limits to the power of the victorious Turks, whose authority and dominion increased from day to day. The pontif's proposal was, however, renewed with the same zeal, and with the desired success, some time after this, in the council assembled at *Clermont*, where *URBAN* was present. The pompous and pathetic speech, which he delivered upon this occasion, made a deep and powerful impression upon the minds of the French, whose natural character renders them much superior to the Italians in encountering difficulties, facing danger, and attempting the execution of the most perilous designs. So that an innumerable multitude, composed of all ranks and orders in the nation, offered themselves as volunteers in this sacred expedition [p]. This numerous host was looked upon as formidable in the highest degree, and equal to the most glorious enterprizes and exploits, while, in reality, it was no more than an unwieldy body without life and vigour, and was weak and contemptible in every respect. This will appear sufficiently evident, when we consider that this army was a motley assemblage of monks, prostitutes, artists, labourers, lazy tradesmen, merchants, boys, girls, slaves, malefactors, and profligate debauchees, and that it was principally composed of the lowest dregs of the multitude, who were animated solely by the prospect of spoil and plunder, and hoped to make their fortunes by this holy

[o] This council was the most numerous of any that had been hitherto assembled, and was, on that account, held in the open fields. There were present at it two hundred bishops, four thousand ecclesiastics, and three hundred thousand laymen.

[p] THEOD. RUINART. in *Vita Urbani* II, § ccxxv. p. 224. 299, 240. 272. 274. 282. 296. tom. iii. opp. Posthum.—J. MABILLONI et THEOD. RUINARTI, JO. HARDUINI *Concilior.* tom. xi. part II. p. 1726.—BARONIUS *Annal. Eccl.* tom. xi. ad A. 1095, n. xxxii. p. 648.

campaign.

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T I.

The history
of this holy
war.

campaign. Every one will perceive how little either discipline, counsel, or fortitude were to be expected from such a miserable rabble. This expedition was distinguished, in the French language, by the name of a *croisade*, and all who embarked in it were called *croise's*, or cross-bearers; not only because the end of this holy war was to wrest the cross of CHRIST out of the hands of the infidels, but also on account of the consecrated cross of various colours, which every soldier wore upon his right shoulder [q].

VI. In consequence of these grand preparations, eight hundred thousand men, in separate bodies, and under different commanders, set out for *Constantinople* in the year 1096; that having received there both assistance and direction from ALEXIS COMNENIUS the Grecian emperor, they might pursue their march into *Asia*. One of the principal divisions of this enormous body was led on by PETER the Hermit, the author and fomentor of the war, who was girded with a rope, and continued to appear with all the marks of an austere solitary. This first division, in their march through *Hungary* and *Thrace*, committed the most flagitious crimes, which so incensed the inhabitants of the countries through which they passed, particularly those of *Hungary* and *Turcomania*, that they rose up in arms and massacred the greatest part of them. A like fate attended several other divisions of the same army, who, under the conduct of weak and unskilful chiefs, wandered about like an undisciplined band of robbers, plundering the cities that lay in their way, and spreading misery and desolation wherever they came. The armies, that were headed by illustrious commanders, distinguished by their birth and their military endowments, arrived more happily at the capital of the Grecian empire. That which was commanded by GODFREY of *Bouillon*, duke of *Lorrain*, who deserves a place among the greatest heroes, whether of ancient or modern times [r], and, by his brother BALD-

[q] See ABRAH. BZOVIVS *Continuat. Annal. Baronii*, tom. xv. ad A. 1410. n. ix. p. 322. edit. Colon.—L'ENFANT *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, tom. ii. lib. v. p. 60.—The writers who have treated of this holy war are mentioned by JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, in his *Lux Evangelii toto orbe exoriens*, cap. xxx. p. 518.

[r] The Benedictine monks have given an ample account of this
WIN,

WIN, was composed of eighty thousand well chosen troops, horse and foot [s], and directed its march through Germany and Hungary. Another, which was headed by RAIMOND, earl of *Toulouse*, passed through the Slavonian territories. ROBERT earl of *Flanders*, ROBERT duke of *Normandy* [t], HUGO, brother to PHILIP I, king of *France*, embarked their respective forces in a fleet which was assembled at *Brundisi* and *Tarento*, from whence they were transported to *Durazzo*, or *Dyrrachium*, as it was anciently called. These armies were followed by BOEMOND, duke of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, at the head of a chosen and numerous body of valiant Normans.

VII. This army was the greatest, and, in outward appearance, the most formidable, that had been known in the memory of man ; and, though before its arrival at *Constantinople*, it was diminished considerably by the difficulties and oppositions it had met with on the way ; yet such as it was, it made the Grecian emperor tremble, and filled his mind with the most anxious and terrible apprehensions of some secret design against his dominions. His fears, however, were dispelled, when he saw these legions pass

magnanimous chief, whose character was a bright assemblage of all christian, civil, and heroic virtues, in their *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, tom. viii. p. 598.

[s] The engaging and illustrious virtues of GODFREY had drawn from all parts a prodigious number of volunteers, who were ambitious to fight under his standards. This enormous multitude perplexed, however, the valiant chief, who, on that account, divided it into several bodies, and finding in PETER the Hermit the same ambitious and military spirit that had prevailed in him before his retreat from the world, declared him the general of the first division, which was detached from the rest, and ordered to march immediately to *Constantinople*. By this means, GODFREY got rid of the dregs of that astonishing multitude which flocked to his camp. Father MAIMBOURG, notwithstanding his immoderate zeal for the holy war, and that fabulous turn which enables him to represent it in the most favourable points of view, acknowledges frankly, that the first divisions of this prodigious army committed the most abominable enormities in the countries through which they passed, and that there was no kind of insolence, injustice, impurity, barbarity, and violence of which they were not guilty. Nothing perhaps in the annals of history can equal the flagitious deeds of this infernal rabble. See particularly MAIMBOURG, *Histoire des Croisades*, tom. i. livre i. p. 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62. 2d edit. in 12mo.

[t] Eldest son of WILLIAM the Conqueror.

the

CENT.
XI.
PART I.

the streights of *Gallipolis*, and direct their march towards *Bithynia* [u].

The first successful enterprize[w] that was formed against the Infidels, was the siege of *Nice*, the capital of *Bithynia*, which was taken in the year 1097; from thence the victorious army proceeded into *Syria*, and, in the following year, subdued *Antioch*, which, with its fertile territory, was granted, by the assembled chiefs, to *BOEMOND*, duke of *Apulia*. *Edeffa* fell next into the hands of the victors, and became the property of *BALDWIN*, brother to *GODFREY* of *Bouillon*. The conquest of *Jerusalem*, which, after a siege of five weeks, submitted to their arms in the year 1099, seemed to crown their expedition with the desired success. In this city were laid the foundations of a new kingdom, at the head of which was placed the famous *GODFREY*, whom the army saluted king of *Jerusalem* with a unanimous voice. But this illustrious hero, whose other eminent qualities were adorned with the greatest modesty, refused that high title [*], though he governed *Jerusalem* with that valour, equity, and prudence, that have rendered his name immortal. Having chosen a small army to support him in his new dignity, he permitted the rest of the troops to return into *Europe*. He did not, however, enjoy long the fruits of a victory, in which his heroic valour

[u] Our author, for the sake of brevity, passes over the contests and jealousies that subsisted between the chief of the crusade and the Grecian emperor. The character of the latter is differently painted by different historians. The warm defenders of the crusade represent him as a most perfidious prince, who, under the shew of friendship and zeal, aimed at nothing less than the destruction of *GODFREY*'s army. Others consider him as a wise prudent politician, who, by artifice and stratagem, warded off the danger he had reason to apprehend from these formidable legions that passed through his dominions; and part of which, particularly the army commanded by *PETER* the Hermit, ravaged his most fruitful territories in the most barbarous manner, and pillaged and plundered even the suburbs of the capital of the empire. The truth of the matter is, that if *ALEXIS* cannot be vindicated from the charge of perfidy, the holy warriors are on the other hand, chargeable with many acts of brutality and injustice. See *MAIMBOURG*, *Histoire des Croisades*, livre i. et ii.

[w] Before the arrival of *GODFREY* in *Asia*, the army, or rather rabble, commanded by *PETER* the Hermit in such a ridiculous manner as might be expected from a wrongheaded monk, was defeated and cut to pieces by the young *SOLIMAN*.

had

had been so gloriously displayed, but died about a year after the conquest of *Jerusalem*, leaving his dominions to his brother BALDWIN, prince of *Edeffa*, who assumed the title of king without the least hesitation.

VIII. If we examine the motives that engaged the Roman pontifs, and particularly URBAN II, to kindle this holy war, which in its progress and issue was so detrimental to almost all the countries of *Europe*, we shall probably be persuaded that its origin is to be derived from the corrupt notions of religion, which prevailed in these barbarous times. It was thought inconsistent, with the duty and character of Christians, to suffer that land, that was blessed with the ministry, distinguished by the miracles, and consecrated by the blood of the Saviour of men, to remain under the dominion of his most inveterate enemies. It was also looked upon as a very important branch of true piety to visit the holy places in *Palestine*; which pilgrimages, however, were extremely dangerous, while the despotic Saracens were in possession of that country. Nor is it to be denied, that these motives of a religious kind were accompanied and rendered more effectual by an anxious apprehension of the growing power of the Turks, who had already subdued the greatest part of the Grecian empire, and might soon carry into *Europe*, and more particularly into *Italy*, their victorious arms.

There are, it must be confessed, several learned men who have accounted otherwise for this pious, or rather fanatical, expedition. They imagine that the Roman pontifs recommended this sacred campaign with a view to augment their own authority, and to weaken the power of the Latin emperors and princes; and that these princes countenanced and encouraged it in hopes of getting rid, by that means, of their more powerful and warlike vassals, and of becoming masters of their lands and possessions [y].

[x] All the historians, who write concerning this holy war, applaud the answer which GODFREY returned to the offer that was made him of a crown of gold, as a mark of his accession to the throne of *Jerusalem*; the answer was, that *he could not bear the thoughts of wearing a crown of gold in that city, where the KING OF KINGS had been crowned with thorns*. This answer was sublime in the eleventh century.

[y] The part of this hypothesis, that relates to the views of the Roman pontifs, has been adopted as an undoubted truth, not only

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T I.

The motives which engaged the bishops of Rome and the princes of Europe in this holy war.

These

CENT.
XI.
PART I.

These conjectures, however plausible in appearance, are still no more than conjectures. The truth of the matter

by many protestant historians, but also by several writers of the Roman communion. see BENED. ACCOLTUS *De bello Sacro in Infidelis*, lib. i. p. 16.—BASNAGE *Histoire des Eglises Reformées*, tom. i. period v. p. 235.—VERTOT *Histoire des Chevaliers de Malthe*, tom. i. livre iii. p. 302. 308. livre iv. p. 428.—BAILLET *Histoire des demelez du Bonifacé VIII, avec Philippe le Bel*, p. 76.—*Histoire du droit Ecclesiastique François*, tom. i. 296. 299. To such, however, as consider matters attentively, this hypothesis will appear destitute of any solid foundation. Certain it is, that the Roman pontiffs could never have either foreseen, or imagined, that so many European princes, and such prodigious multitudes of people, would take arms against the infidels, and march into *Palestine*; nor could they be assured beforehand, that this expedition would tend to the advancement of their opulence and authority. For all the accessions of influence and wealth, which the Roman pontiffs, and the clergy in general derived from these holy wars, were of a much later date, than their first origin, and were acquired by degrees, rather by lucky hits, than by deep laid schemes; and this alone is sufficient to shew, that the bishops of *Rome*, in forming the plan and exhorting to the prosecution of these wars, had no thoughts of extending thereby the limits of their authority. We may add to this consideration another of no less weight in the matter before us, and that is, the general opinion which prevailed at this time, both among the clergy and the people, that the conquest of *Palestine* would be finished in a short time, in a single campaign; that the divine providence would interpose, in a miraculous manner, to accomplish the ruin of the infidels; and that, after the taking of *Jerusalem*, the greatest part of the European princes would return home with their troops, which last circumstance was by no means favourable to the views which the pontiffs are supposed to have formed of increasing their opulence and extending their dominion. Of all the conjectures that have been entertained upon this subject, the most improbable and groundless is that which supposes that URBAN II recommended, with such ardour, this expedition into *Palestine*, with a view to weaken the power of the emperor Henry IV, with whom he had a violent dispute concerning the investiture of bishops. They, who adopt this conjecture, must be little acquainted with the history of these times; or at least they forget, that the first armies, that marched into *Palestine* against the infidels, were chiefly composed of Franks and Normans, and that the Germans, who were the enemies of URBAN II, were, in the beginning, extremely averse to this sacred expedition. Many other considerations might be added here to illustrate this matter, which, for the sake of brevity, I pass in silence.

That part of the hypothesis, which relates to the kings and princes of *Europe*, and supposes that they countenanced the holy war, to get rid of their powerful vassals, is as groundless as the other, which we have been now refuting. It is, indeed, adopted by several eminent writers, such as VERTOT (*Hist. de Malthe*, livre iii. p. 309.) BOULAINVILLIERS, and others, who pretend to a superior and uncommon
seems

seems to be this ; that the Roman pontifs and the European princes were engaged at first in these *crusades* by a principle of superstition only ; but when, in process of time, they learned by experience, that these holy wars contributed much to increase their opulence and to extend their authority, by sacrificing their wealthy and powerful rivals, then new motives were presented to encourage these sacred expeditions into *Palestine*, and ambition and avarice seconded and enforced the dictates of fanaticism and superstition.

IX. Without determining any thing concerning the justice or injustice [z] of these holy wars, we may boldly affirm, that they were highly prejudicial both to the cause of religion, and to the civil interests of mankind, and that, in *Europe* more especially, they were fruitful of innume-

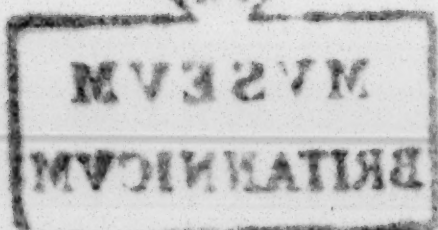
C E N T.
XI.
P A R T I.

Its unhappy
consequen-
ces, and the
innumera-
ble evils that
attended it.

mon insight into the policy of these remote ages. The reasons, however, which these great men employ to support their opinion, may be all comprehended in this single argument : *viz.* " Many kings, especially among the Franks, became more opulent and powerful by the number of their vassals, who lost their lives and fortunes in this holy war ; therefore, these princes not only permitted, but warmly countenanced the prosecution of this war from selfish and ambitious principles." The weakness of this conclusion must strike every one at first sight. We are wonderfully prone to attribute both to the Roman pontifs, and the princes of this barbarous age much more sagacity and cunning, than they really possessed ; and we deduce from the events, the principles and views of the actors, which is a defective and uncertain manner of reasoning. With respect to the Roman pontifs, it appears most probable that their immense opulence and authority were acquired, rather by their improving dexterously the opportunities that were offered them, than by the schemes they formed for extending their dominion, or filling their coffers.

[z] I do not pretend to decide the question concerning the lawfulness of the *crusades* ; a question, which, when it is considered with attention and impartiality, will appear not only extremely difficult, but also highly doubtful. It is, however, proper to inform the reader, that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the justice of this holy war was called in question, and warmly disputed among Christians. The Waldenses and Albigenses, who were distinguished by the name of Cathari, or Puritans, considered these expeditions into *Palestine* as absolutely unlawful. The reasons they alledged were collected and combated by FRANCIS MONETA, a Dominican friar of the thirteenth century, in a book entitled *Summa contra Catharos et Waldenses*, lib. v. cap. xiii. p. 531. which was published some years ago at *Rome* by RICHINI. But neither the objections of the Waldenses, nor the answers of MONETA, were at all remarkable for their weight and solidity, as will appear evidently from the following example :

able



CENT.
XL.
PART I.

able evils and calamities, whose effects are yet perceivable in our times. The European nations were deprived of the greatest part of their inhabitants by these ill-judged

The former objected to the holy war the words of St. PAUL, 1 COR. x. 32. *Give none offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles.* By the *Gentiles*, said they, are to be understood the Saracens. And therefore the European Christians are to abstain from making war upon the Saracens, lest they give offence to the *Gentiles*. We shall give MONETA's answer to this argument in his own words: *We read, says he, GENES. xii. 7. that God said unto Abraham, Unto thy seed will I give this land: Now we (Christians who dwell in Europe) are the seed of Abraham, as the apostle affirms, GALAT. iii. 29. Therefore we are heirs of the promise, and the holy land is given to us by the covenant as our lawful possession. From all which it appears, that it is the duty of civil and temporal rulers to use their most zealous efforts to put us in possession of the promised land, while it is, at the same time, incumbent upon the church and its ministers to exhort these rulers in the most urgent manner to the performance of their duty. A rare argument this truly! but let us hear him out: The church has no design to injure, or slaughter the Saracens, nor is such the intention of the Christian princes engaged in this war. Yet the blood of the infidels must of necessity be shed, if they make resistance and oppose the victorious arms of the princes. The church of God therefore is entirely innocent and without reproach in this matter, and gives no offence to the Gentiles, because it does no more, in reality, than maintain its undoubted right. Such is the subtle reasoning of MONETA, on which it is not necessary to make any reflexions.*

Dr. MOSHEIM seems too modest, nay even timorous in his manner of expressing himself concerning the justice of this holy war, which was so absurd in its principle, and so abominable in the odious circumstances that attended it. His respect, perhaps, for the Teutonic crosses which abound in Germany, and are the marks of an order which derives its origin from these fanatical expeditions into Palestine, may have occasioned that ambiguity and circumspection in his expressions, through which, however, it is easy to perceive his disapprobation of the crusades.—The holy place profaned by the dominion of infidels, was the apparent pretext of this fanatical war. What holy place? *Jerusalem*, say the knights errant of Palestine. But they forget that *Jerusalem* was a city, which by the conduct of its inhabitants and the crucifixion of CHRIST, was become most odious in the eye of God; that it was visibly loaded with a divine malediction, and was the miserable theatre of the most tremendous judgments and calamities that ever were inflicted upon any nation. Had the case been otherwise, we know of no right which Christianity gives its professors to seize upon the territories, and invade the possessions of unbelievers. Had the Jews attempted the conquest of Palestine, they would have acted conformably with their apparent rights; because it was formerly their country, and consistently also with their religious principles; because they expected a Messiah who was to bind the kings of the gentiles in chains, and to reduce the whole world under the Jewish yoke.

expeditions;



expeditions ; immense sums of money were exported into *Asia* for the support of the war ; and numbers of the most powerful and opulent families became either extinct, or were involved in the deepest miseries of poverty and want. It could not well be otherwise ; since the heads of the most illustrious houses either mortgaged or sold their lands and possessions in order to pay the expences of their voyage [a] ; while others imposed such intolerable burthens upon their vassals and tenants, as obliged them to abandon their houses, and all their domestic concerns, and to enlist themselves, rather though wild despair than religious zeal, under the sacred banner of the cross. Hence the face of *Europe* was totally changed, and all things thrown into the utmost confusion. We pass in silence the various enormities that were occasioned by these crusades, the murders, rapes, and robberies of the most infernal nature, that were every where committed with impunity by these holy soldiers of GOD and of CHRIST, as they were impiously called ; nor shall we enter into a detail of the new privileges and rights, to which these wars gave rise, and which were often attended with the greatest inconveniencies [b].

[a] We find many memorable examples of this in the ancient records. ROBERT, duke of *Normandy*, mortgaged his dutchy to his brother WILLIAM, king of *England*, to defray the expences of his voyage to *Palestine*. See the *Histor. Major* of MATTHEW PARIS, lib. i. p. 24.—ODO, viscount of *Bourges*, sold his territory to the king of *France*. *Gallia Christian. Benedictinorum*, tom. ii. p. 45. See, for many more examples of this kind, CAR. DU FRESNE, *Adnot. ad Joinvilli vitam Ludovici S.* p. 52.—BOULAINVILLIERS, *Sur l'origine et les droits de la Noblesse* in MOLET's *Memoires de Litterature et de l'Histoire*, tom. ix. part I. p. 68.—JO. GEORGE CRAMER *De juribus et prerogativis Nobilitatis*, tom. i. p. 81. 409. From the commencement therefore of these holy wars, a vast number of estates, belonging to the European nobility, were either mortgaged, or totally transferred, some to kings and princes, others to priests and monks, and not a few to persons of a private condition, who, by possessing considerable sums of ready money, were enabled to make advantageous purchases.

[b] Such persons, as entered into these expeditions, and were distinguished by the badge of the military cross, acquired thereby certain remarkable rights, which were extremely prejudicial to the rest of their fellow-citizens. Hence it happened, that when any of these holy soldiers contracted any civil obligations, or entered into conventions of sale, purchase, or any such transactions, they were previously required to renounce all privileges and immunities, which

CENT.
XI.
PART I.

Its unhappy effects, considered with respect to the state of religion.

X. These holy wars were not less prejudicial to the cause of religion, and the true interests of the Christian church, than they were to the temporal concerns of men. One of their first and most pernicious effects was the enormous augmentation of the influence and authority of the Roman pontiffs: they also contributed, in various ways, to enrich the churches and monasteries with daily accessions of wealth, and to open new sources of opulence to all the sacerdotal orders. For they, who assumed the cross, disposed of their possessions as if they were at the point of death, and this on account of the imminent and innumerable dangers they were to be exposed to in their passage to the holy land, and the opposition they were to encounter there upon their arrival [c]. They therefore, for the most part, made their wills before their departure, and left a considerable part of their possessions to the priests and monks, in order to obtain by these *pious* legacies, the favour and protection of the Deity [d]. Many examples of these donations are to be found in ancient records. Such of the *holy* soldiers, as had been engaged in suits of law with the priests or monks, renounced their pretensions, and submissively gave up whatever it was that had been the subject of debate. And others, who had seized upon any of the possessions of the churches or convents, or had heard of any injury that had been committed against the clergy, by the remotest of their ancestors, made the most liberal restitution, both for their own usurpations and those of their fore-fathers, and made ample satisfaction for the real or pretended injuries they had committed against the church by rich and costly donations [e].

Nor were these the only unhappy effects of these holy expeditions, considered with respect to their influence upon

they had obtained or might obtain in time to come by taking on the cross. See LE BEUF, *Memoirs sur l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, Append. tom. ii. p. 292.

[c] The translator has here inserted into the text, the note [r] of the original, as it is purely historical, and makes a very interesting part of the narration.

[d] See PLESSIS *Hist. de Meaux*, tom. ii. p. 76. 79. 141.—*Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 138, 139.—LE BEUF, *Memoires pour l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. ii. Append. p. 31.—DU FRESNE, *Notæ ad Vitam Ludovici Sancti*, p. 52.

[e] DU FRESNE, l. c. p. 52.

the

the state of religion, and the affairs of the Christian church. For while whole legions of bishops and abbots girded the sword to their thigh, and went as generals, volunteers, or chaplains into *Palastine*, the priests and monks, who had lived under their jurisdiction, and were more or less awed by their authority, threw off all restraint, lived the most lawless and profligate lives, and abandoned themselves to all sorts of licentiousness, committing the most flagitious and extravagant excesses without reluctance or remorse. The monster Superstition, which was already grown to an enormous size, received new accessions of strength and influence by this holy war, and exercised with more vehemence than ever its despotic dominion over the minds of the Latins. For the crowd of saints, and tutelary patrons, whose number was prodigious before this period, was now augmented by fictitious saints of Greek and Syrian origin [f], which had hitherto been unknown in *Europe*, and an incredible quantity of relics, the greatest part of which were ridiculous in the highest degree, were imported into the European churches. The armies, that returned from *Asia* after the taking of *Jerusalem*, brought with them a vast number of these faintly relics, which they bought at a high price from the cunning Greeks and Syrians, and which they considered as the noblest spoils that could crown their return from the holy land. These they committed to the custody of the clergy, in the churches and monasteries, or ordered them to be most carefully preserved in their families from generation to generation [g].

[f] The Roman catholic historians acknowledge, that, during the time of the crusades, many saints, unknown to the Latins before that period, were imported into *Europe* from *Greece* and the eastern provinces, and were treated with the utmost respect and the most devout veneration. Among these new patrons, there were some, whose exploits, and even their existence, were called in question. Such, among others, was St. CATHARINE, whom BARONIUS and CASSANDER represent as having removed from *Syria* into *Europe*. See BARONIUS, *Ad Martyrol. Roman.* p. 728.—GEORGE CASSANDER, *Schol. ad hymnos Ecclesie*, p. 278, 279. opp. *Paris*. 1616. *Fol.* It is, however, extremely doubtful, whether or no this CATHARINE, who is honoured as the patroness of learned men, ever existed.

[g] The sacred treasures of musty relics, which the French, Germans, Britons, and other European nations, preserved formerly with so much care, and shew even in our times with such pious ostentation,

CHAP. II.

Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the church during this century.

CENT.
XI.
PART I.

The sufferings of the church under the dominion and usurpations of the Saracens and Turks.

THE greatest opposition the Christians met with, in this century, was from the Saracens and Turks. To the latter the Christians and Saracens were equally odious, and felt equally the fatal consequences of their increasing dominion. The Saracens, notwithstanding their bloody contests with the Turks, which gave them constant occupation, and the vigorous, though ineffectual, efforts they were continually making to set limits to the power of that fierce nation, which was daily extending the bounds of its empire, persisted still in their cruelty towards

are certainly not more ancient than these holy wars, but were then purchased at a high rate from the Greeks and Syrians. These cunning traders in superstition, whose avarice and fraud were excessive, imposed upon the credulity of the simple and ignorant Latins, and often sold them fictitious relics. RICHARD, king of England, bought, in the year 1191, from the famous SALADIN, all the relics that were to be found in Jerusalem, as appears from the testimony of MATTHEW DE PARIS, *Hist. Major.* p. 138. who tells us also, p. 666, of the same work, that the Dominicans brought from Palestine a white stone, in which Jesus Christ had left the print of his feet. The Genoese pretend to have received from BALDWIN, second king of Jerusalem, the very dish in which the paschal lamb was served up to Christ and his disciples at the last supper; though this famous dish excites the laughter of even father LABAT, in his *Voyages en Espagne et en Italie*, tom. ii. p. 63. For an account of the prodigious quantity of relics, which St. LOUIS brought from Palestine into France, we refer the reader to the life of that prince composed by JOINVILLE, and published by DU FRESNE; as also to PLESSIS, *Histoire de l'Eglise de Meaux*, tom. i. p. 120. and LANCELOT, *Memoires pour la vie de l'Abbé de St. Cyran*, tom. ii. p. 175. CHRIST's handkerchief, which is worshiped at Benzançon, was brought there from the holy land. See JO. JAC. CHIFLET, *Vesontio*, part II. p. 108. and *De Linteis Christi Sepulchralibus*, c. ix. p. 50.—Many other examples of this miserable superstition may be seen in ANTON. MATTHÆI *Analecta veteris ævi*, tom. ii. p. 677.—JO. MABILLON, *Annal. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 52. and principally CHIFLET's *Crisis Historica de Linteis Christi Sepulchralibus*, c. ix, x. p. 50, and also 59. where we find the following passage: *Sciendum est, vigente immani et barbara Turcarum persecutione et imminente Christianæ religionis in oriente naufragio, edueta e Sacrariis et per Christianos quovis modo recondita Ecclesiæ pignora . . . Hisce plane divinis opibus illecti præ aliis, Sacra Aelia qua vi, quo pretio, à detinentibus hac illac extorserunt.*

their Christian subjects, whom they robbed,*plundered, maimed, or murdered in the most barbarous manner, and loaded with all sorts of injuries and calamities. The Turks, on the other hand, not only reduced the Saracen dominion to very narrow bounds, but also seized upon the richest provinces of the Grecian empire, those fertile countries that lay upon the coasts of the *Euxine* sea, and subjected them to their yoke, while they impoverished and exhausted the rest by perpetual incursions, and by the most severe and unmerciful exactions. The Greeks were not able to oppose this impetuous torrent of prosperous ambition. Their force was weakened by intestine discords, and their treasures were exhausted to such a degree as rendered them incapable of raising new troops, or of paying the armies they had already in their service.

II. The Saracens in *Spain* opposed the progress of the gospel in a different, yet still more pernicious, way. They used all sorts of methods to allure the Christians into the profession of mahometanism; alliances of marriage, advantageous contracts, flattering rewards, were employed to seduce them with too much success; for great numbers fell into these fatal snares, and apostatized from the truth [b]. And these allurements would have, undoubtedly, still continued to seduce multitudes of Christians from the bosom of the church, had not the face of affairs been changed in *Spain* by the victorious arms of the kings of *Arragon* and *Castile*, and more especially FERDINAND I; for these princes, whose zeal for Christianity was equal to their military courage, defeated the Saracens in several battles, and deprived them of a great part of their territories and possessions [i].

And in the western provinces.

The number of those among the Danes, Hungarians, and other European nations, who retained their prejudices in favour of the idolatrous religion of their ancestors, was, as yet, very considerable; and they persecuted, with the utmost cruelty, the neighbouring nations, and also such

[b] JO. HENR. HOTTINGERI *Histor. Ecclesiast. Sæc. xi. § ii. p. 452.*—MICHAEL GEDDES's *History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes out of Spain*, which is to be found in the *Miscellaneous Tracts of that Author*, tom. i. p. 104.

[i] For an account of these wars between the first Christian kings of *Spain* and the Mahometans or Moors, see the Spanish histories of JO. MARIANA and JO. FERRERA.

CENT.
XI.
PART I.

of their fellow-citizens as had embraced the gospel. To put a stop to this barbarous persecution, Christian princes exerted their zeal in a terrible manner, proclaiming capital punishment against all who persisted in the worship of the Pagan deities. This dreadful severity contributed much more towards the extirpation of paganism, than the exhortations and instructions of ignorant missionaries, who were unacquainted with the true nature of the gospel, and dishonoured its pure and holy doctrines by their licentious lives, and their superstitious practices.

The Prussians, Lithuanians, Sclavonians, Obotriti, and several other nations, who dwelt in the lower parts of Germany, and lay still groveling in the darkness of paganism, continued to vex the Christians, who lived in their neighbourhood, by perpetual acts of hostility and violence, by frequent incursions into their territories, and by putting numbers of them to death in the most inhuman manner [k].

[k] HELMOLDI *Chron. Slavorum*, lib. i. cap. xvi. p. 52.—ADAM, *Bremens. Histor.* lib. ii. cap. xxvii.

P A R T II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during this century.

THE declining condition of the Grecian empire was fatal to the progress of letters and philosophy. Its glory and power diminished from day to day under the insults and usurpations of the Turks and Saracens; and while the empire suffered by these attacks from without, it was consumed gradually by the internal pestilence of civil discord, by frequent seditions and conspiracies, and by those violent revolutions which shook from time to time the imperial throne, and were attended with the sudden fall and elevation of those that held the reins of government [a]. So many foreign invasions, so many internal troubles, so many emperors dethroned, deprived the political body of its strength and consistence, broke in upon the public order, rendered all things precarious, and, dejecting the spirits of the nation, damped the fire of genius, and discouraged the efforts of literary ambition. There were, however, some emperors, such as ALEXIUS COMNENUS, who seemed to cherish and encourage the drooping sciences, and whose zeal was seconded by several prelates who were willing to lend a supporting hand to the cause of letters. The controversies also that subsisted between the Greeks and Latins, obliged the former, amidst all their disadvantages, to a certain degree of application to study, and prevented them from abandoning entirely the culture of the sciences. And hence it is, that we find among the Greeks of this century some writers, at least, who have deserved well of the republic of letters.

[a] The sentence which begins with the words *so many foreign*, and ends with the words *literary ambition*, is added by the translator to render the connexion with what follows more evident.

C E N T.

XI.

P A R T II.

The principal Greek writers.

II. We pass in silence the poets, rhetoricians, and philologists of this century, who were neither highly eminent, nor absolutely contemptible. Among the writers of history, LEO the *grammarian*, JOHN SCYLIZES, CEDRE-NUS, and a few others deserve to be mentioned with a certain degree of approbation; notwithstanding the partiality with which they are chargeable, and the zeal they discover for many of the fabulous records of their nation. But the greatest ornament of the republic of letters at this time, was MICHAEL PSELLUS, a man illustrious in every respect, and deeply versed in all the various kinds of erudition that were known in this age. This great man recommended warmly to his countrymen the study of philosophy, and particularly the system of ARISTOTLE, which he embellished and illustrated in several learned and ingenious productions [b]. If we turn our eyes towards the Arabians, we shall find that they still retained a high degree of zeal for the culture of the sciences; as appears evidently from the number of Physicians, mathematicians, and astronomers, who flourished among them in this century [c].

The state of letters in the west.

III. The arts and sciences seemed, in some measure, to revive in the west, among the clergy, at least, and the monastic orders; they were not indeed cultivated by any other set of men, and the nobility, if we except such of them as were designed to fill certain ecclesiastical dignities, or had voluntarily devoted themselves to a religious solitude, treated all sorts of learning and erudition with indifference and contempt. The schools of learning flourished in several parts of *Italy* about the year 1050; and of the Italian doctors, who acquired a name by their writings or their academical lessons, several removed afterwards into *France*, and particularly into *Normandy*, where they instructed the youth, who had consecrated themselves to the service of the church [d]. The French also, though they acknowledge their obligations to the learned Italians who settled in their provinces, yet give us, at the same

[b] LEO ALLATIUS, *Diatriba de Psellis*, p. 14. edit. Fabricii.

[c] ELMACINI *Historia Saracen.* p. 281.—JO. HENR. HOTTINGERI *Histor. Eccles. Sæc. xi.* p. 449.

[d] See MURATORI *Antiquitates Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iii. p. 871.—GIANNONE, *Histoire de Naples*, tom. ii. p. 148.

time,

time, a considerable list of their own countrymen, who, without any foreign succours, cultivated the sciences, and contributed not a little to the advancement of letters in this century; they mention also several schools erected in different parts of that kingdom, which were in the highest reputation, both on account of the fame of their masters, and the multitude of disciples that resorted to them [e]. And, indeed, it is certain beyond all contradiction, that the liberal arts and sciences were cultivated in *France*, which abounded with learned men, while the greatest part of *Italy* lay as yet covered with a thick cloud of ignorance and darkness. For ROBERT, king of *France*, son and successor of HUGH CAPET, disciple of the famous GERBERT, afterwards SILVESTER II, and the great protector of the sciences, and friend of the learned, reigned so early as the year 1031 [f], and exerted upon all occasions the most ardent zeal for the restoration of letters; nor were his generous efforts without success [g]. The provinces of *Sicily*, *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and other southern parts of *Italy*, were indebted, for the introduction of the sciences among them, to the Normans, who became their masters, and who brought] with them from *France* the knowledge of letters to a people that sat benighted in the darkest ignorance. To the Normans also was due the restoration of letters in *England*. WILLIAM the Conqueror, a prince of uncommon sagacity and genius, and the great Mæcenas of his time, upon his accession to the throne of *England* in the year 1066, engaged, by the most alluring solicitations, a considerable number of learned men from *Normandy*, and other countries, to settle in his new dominions, and exerted his most zealous endeavours to dispel that savage ignorance, that is always a source of innumerable evils [h]. The reception of Christianity had

[e] *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. vii. at the Introduction.—DU BOULAY, *Hist. Academ. Paris*. tom. i. p. 355.—LE BEUF, *Diff. sur l'Etat des Sciences en France depuis la mort du Roi Robert*, which is published among his *Dissertations sur l'Histoire Ecclesiastique et Civile de Paris*. tom. ii. part I.

[f] ROBERT died in the year 1031, after a reign of thirty-five years.

[g] DANIEL, *Histoire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 58.—DU BOULAY, *Hist. Academ. Paris*. tom. i. p. 636. et passim.

[h] See *Hist. Litter. de la France*, tom. viii. p. 171.—*The English*,
polished

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

Schools opened in several places.

polished and civilized, in an extraordinary manner, the rugged minds of the valiant Normans; for those fierce warriors, who, under the darkness of paganism, had manifested the utmost aversion to all branches of knowledge and every kind of instruction, distinguished themselves, after their conversion, by their ardent application to the study of religion and the pursuit of learning.

IV. This vehement desire of knowledge, that increased from day to day, and became, at length, the predominant passion of the politest European nations, produced many happy effects. To it, more particularly, we must attribute the considerable number of public schools that were opened in various places, and the choice of more able and eminent masters, than those, who had formerly presided in the seminaries of learning. Towards the conclusion of the preceding age, there were no schools in *Europe* but those which belonged to monasteries, or episcopal residences, nor were there any other masters, except the Benedictine monks, to instruct the youth in the principles of sacred and profane erudition. But, not long after the commencement of this century, the face of things was totally changed, and that in a manner the most advantageous to the cause of letters. In many cities of *France* and *Italy*, learned men, both among the clergy and laity, undertook the weighty and important charge of instructing the youth, and succeeded much better in this worthy undertaking than the monks had done, not only by comprehending in their course of instruction more branches of knowledge than the monastic doctors were acquainted with, but also by teaching in a better method, and with more perspicuity and success, many of the same branches of science, which the others had taught before them. The most eminent of these new masters were such as had either travelled into *Spain* with a view to study in the schools of the Saracens (which was extremely customary in this age among those that were ambitious of a distinguished reputation for wisdom and knowledge) or had improved their stock of erudition and philosophy by a diligent and atten-

says MATTHEW PARIS, *were so illiterate and ignorant before the time of WILLIAM the Conqueror, that a man, who understood the principles of grammar, was universally looked upon as a prodigy of learning.*

tive

tive perusal of the writings of the Arabians, of which a great number were translated into Latin. For with these foreign succours, they were enabled to teach philosophy, mathematics, physick, astronomy, and the other sciences that are connected with them, in a much more learned and solid manner, than the monks, or such as had received their education from them alone. The school of *Salernum*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, was renowned above all others for the study of physick in this century, and vast numbers crowded thither from all the provinces of *Europe* to receive instruction in the art of healing: but the medical precepts, which rendered the doctors of *Salernum* so famous, were all derived from the writings of the Arabians, or from the schools of the Saracens in *Spain* and *Africa* [i]. It was also from the schools and writings of the Arabian sages, that the absurd and puerile tricks of divination, and the custom of foretelling future events from the position of the stars, the features of the face, and the lines of the hand, derived their origin. These ridiculous practices, proceeding from so respectable a source, and moreover adapted to satisfy the idle curiosity of impatient mortals, were carried on in all the European nations; and in process of time the pretended sciences of astrology and divination acquired the highest reputation and authority.

V. The *seven liberal arts*, as they were now stiled, were taught in the greatest part of the schools, that were erected in this century for the education of youth. The first stage of these sciences was grammar, which was followed successively by rhetoric, and logic. When the disciple, having learned these three branches, which were generally known by the name of *trivium*, extended his ambition farther, and was desirous of new improvement in the sciences, he was conducted slowly through the *quadrivium* [k] to the very summit of literary fame. But this method

The sciences
that were
taught in
these schools.

[i] MURATORI *Antiq. Ital.* tom. iii. p. 935.—GIANNONE, *Hist. de Naples*, tom. ii. p. 151.—FREIND'S *History of Physic*.—It is well known, that the famous precepts of the school of *Salernum*, for the preservation of health, were composed, in this century, at the request of the king of *England*.

[k] The *trivium* was a term invented in the times of barbarism to express the three sciences that were first learned in the schools,

of

CENT.
XI.
PART II.

of teaching, which had been received in all the western schools, was considerably changed towards the latter end of this century. For as the science of *logic*, under which *metaphysics* were in part comprehended, received new degrees of perfection from the deep meditations and the assiduous industry of certain acute thinkers, and was taught with more detail and subtilty than in former times, the greatest part of the studious youth became so enamoured of this branch of philosophy, as to abandon grammar, rhetoric, and all the other liberal arts, that they might consecrate their whole time to the discussion of logical questions and the pursuit of metaphysical speculations. Nor was this surprizing, when we consider, that, according to the opinion which now prevailed in the republic of letters, a man who was well versed in *dialectics*, i. e. in logical and metaphysical knowledge, was reputed sufficiently learned, and was supposed to stand in need of no other branches of erudition [1]. Hence that contempt of languages and eloquence, of the more elegant sciences, and

viz. Grammar, rhetoric, and logic; and the schools, in which these sciences alone were taught, were called *triviales*. The *quadrivium* comprehended the four mathematical sciences, *viz.* Arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy.

[1] See BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 408, 409. 511, 512. — This is too likely to become the prevailing taste even in our times: but it is an ancient taste, as we may easily perceive by casting an eye upon the literary history of the eleventh century. And to confirm still farther the truth of that vulgar saying, that there is *nothing new under the sun*, we shall quote the following passage from the *Metalogicum* of JOHN of Salisbury, a writer of no mean abilities, lib. i. cap. iii. p. 741. edit. Lugdun. Bat. 1639. *Poetae, Historiographi, habebantur infames, et si quis incumbebat laboribus antiquorum, notabatur ut non modo asello Arcadiæ tardior, sed obtusior plumbo vel lapide, omnibus erat in risum. Suis enim, aut magistri sui, quisquis incumbebat inventis. — Fiebant ergo summi repente philosophi: nam qui illiteratus accesserat, fere non morabatur in scholis ulterius quam eo curriculo temporis, quo avium pulli plumescunt. — Sed quid docebant novi doctores et qui plus somniorum, quam vigiliarum in scrutinio philosophiæ consumserant? Ecce nova fiebant omnia: innovabatur grammatica, immutabatur dialectica, contemnebatur rhetorica, et novas totius quadrivii vias, evacuatis priorum regulis, de ipsius philosophiæ adytis proferebant. Solam convenientiam, sive rationem loquebantur, argumentum sonabat in ore omnium — ac ineptum nimis aut rude et a philosopho alienum, impossibile credebatur convenienter et ad rationis normam quicquam dicere aut facere, nisi convenientis et rationis mentio expressa erat inserta.* Many more passages of this nature are to be found in this author.

the

the finer arts, which spread its baneful influence through the Latin provinces ; and hence that barbarism and pedantic sophistry that dishonoured, in succeeding ages, the republic of letters, and corrupted, in a most hideous manner, the noble simplicity of true theology, and the purest systems of philosophical wisdom.

VI. The philosophy of the Latins, in this century, was absolutely confined within the circle of *dialectics* ; while the other philosophical sciences were scarcely known by name [m]. This *dialectic*, indeed, was miserably dry and barren, as long as it was drawn from no other source than the *ten categories* falsely attributed to St. AUGUSTIN, or from the explications of the Aristotelian philosophy composed by PORPHYRY and AVERROES. These, however, were the only guides which the schools had to follow in the beginning of this century ; nor had the public teachers either genius or courage enough, to enlarge the system, or to improve upon the principles, of these dictators in philosophy, whose authority was treated as infallible, and their productions, for a long time, regarded as perfect, to the great detriment of true science. But about the year 1050, the face of philosophy began to change, and the science of logic assumed a new aspect. This revolution began in *France*, where several of the books of ARISTOTLE had been brought from the schools of the Saracens in *Spain*, and it was effected by a set of men highly renowned for their abilities and genius, such as BERENGER, ROSCELLINUS, HILDEBERT, and after them by GILBERT

Dialectic or
logic in high
repute.

[m] We shall, indeed, find many, in the records of this century, honoured with the title of *Philosophers*. Thus we hear of MANEGOLDUS the Philosopher, ADALARDUS the Philosopher, &c. But we must not attribute to the term *philosopher*, when applied to these grammarians, the sense which it bore among the ancient Greeks and Latins, and which it still bears in our times. In the style of, what we call, the middle age, every man of learning, of whatever kind his erudition might be, was called a *philosopher*, and this title was also given to the interpreters of scripture, though that set of men were, generally speaking, destitute of true philosophy. See the *Chronicon Salernitanum* in MURATORI *Scriptor. rerum Italicar.* tom. ii. part II. cap. cxxiv. p. 265. where we are told, that in the tenth century, in which the sciences were almost totally extinguished in *Italy*, there were XXXII *philosophers at Benevento*. We learn, however, by what follows, that these philosophers were partly grammarians, and partly persons, who were more or less versed in certain liberal arts.

CENT.
XI.
PART II.

DE LA PORRE, the famous ABELARD, and others. These eminent logicians, though they followed the Stagirite as their guide, took nevertheless the liberty to illustrate and model anew his philosophy, and to extend it far beyond its ancient limits.

VII. The philosophers of this age, who were most famous for their zealous and successful endeavours to improve the science of logic and accommodate it to general use, were LANFRANC, an Italian by birth, who was abbot of St. STEPHENS at *Caen*, in *Normandy*, and was called from thence, by WILLIAM the Conqueror, to the see of *Canterbury*, ANSELM his successor, and ODO, whose last promotion was the bishopric of *Cambray*. LANFRANC was so deeply versed in this science, that he was commonly called the *Dialectician*; and he employed with great dexterity the subtilties of logic in the controversy which was carried on between him and the learned BERENGER, against whom he maintained the real presence of CHRIST's body and blood in the holy sacrament. ANSELM, in a very learned dialogue *De Grammatico*, throws much light upon the darkness and perplexity in which the science of logic had lain so long involved; and among other things, investigates, with no small sagacity, the nature of *substance*, and *mode* or *quality*, in order to convey juster notions of these metaphysical entities than had been hitherto entertained [*n*]. This great prelate, who shone with a distinguished lustre in several branches of literature both sacred and profane, was the first of the Latin doctors who dispelled the clouds of ignorance and obscurity that hung over the important sciences of *metaphysic* and *natural theology*, as appears from two books of his composition, wherein the truths concerning the deity, which are deducible from the mere light of nature, are enumerated and explained with a degree of sagacity, which could not well be expected from a writer of this century. He was the inventor of that famous argument, vulgarly and erroneously attributed to DESCARTES, which demonstrates the existence of God from the idea of an infinitely perfect Being naturally implanted in the mind of man, and which is to be found,

[*n*] This dialogue is to be found in the works of ANSELM, published by father GERBERON, tom. i. p. 143.

without exception, in the breast of every mortal. The solidity of this argument was, indeed, called in question, almost as soon as it was proposed, by GAUNILO, a French monk, whose objections were answered by ANSELM, in a treatise professedly written for that purpose [o]. ODO, the third restorer of logic whom we mentioned above, taught that science with the greatest applause, and illustrated it in three learned productions, which have not survived the ruins of time [p].

VIII. The restoration of logic was immediately followed by a vehement dispute between its restorers and patrons, concerning the *object* of that science; such was the term employed by the contending parties. This controversy, which was long agitated in the schools, was in its nature extremely trivial and unimportant; but, considered in its consequences, it became a very serious and weighty affair; since the disputants on both sides made use of their respective opinions in explaining the doctrines of religion, and reciprocally loaded each other with the most odious invectives and the most opprobrious accusations. In one

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

Disputes among the
logicians.
Nominalists
and Realists.

[o] GAUNILO's Treatise is to be found in the works of ANSELM, with the answer of that learned prelate. As ANSELM makes such a shining figure in the literary history of England, it will not be improper to add here a more ample account of his character and writings than that which is given by Dr. MOSHEIM. His life and manners were without reproach, though his spiritual ambition exposed him justly to censure. His works are divided into three parts. The first contains his dogmatical tracts, and begins with a discourse concerning the *Existence of God*, the *Divine Attributes*, and the *Trinity*. This discourse is called *Monologia*, because it is drawn up in the form of a soliloquy. In this first part of the works of ANSELM, there are many curious researches upon subjects of a very difficult and mysterious nature, such as the *Fall of Satan*, the *Reason why God created Man*, the doctrine of *Original Sin*, and the *Manner of its Communication to ADAM's Posterity*, the *Liberty of the Will*, and the *Consistency of Freedom with the Divine Prescience*. The second and third parts of the writings of this eminent prelate contain his practical and devotional performances, such as *Homilies*, *Poems*, *Prayers*, &c. and his *Letters*, which are divided into four books.

[p] The titles of these three treatises, are as follows: *De Sophista*, *De Complexionibus*, *De Re et Ente*. The learned HERIMAN, in his *Narratio restorationis Abbatiae Sti. Martini Tornacensis*, which is published in DACHERIUS's *Spicilegium Scriptor. Veter.* tom. ii. p. 889. speaks of ODO in the following honourable manner: *Cum Odo septem liberalium artium esset peritus, præcipue tamen in dialectica eminebat, et pro ipsa maxime clericorum frequentia eum expetebat.*

point

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

point only they were unanimous, acknowledging that *logic* or *dialectic* had for its essential *object* the consideration of *universals* in their various relations and points of comparison, since *particular* and individual things, being liable to change, could not be the objects of a sure and immutable science. But the great question was, whether these *universals*, which came within the sphere of logical inquiries, belonged to the class of real *things*, or to that of mere *denominations*? One set of these subtle disputants maintained that *universals* were undoubted *realities*, and supported their hypothesis by the authority of PLATO, BOETIUS, and other ancient sages; the other affirmed, that they were mere *words* and outward denominations, and pleaded in behalf of their cause the respectable suffrages of ARISTOTLE and PORPHYRY. The former were called Realists on account of their doctrine, and the latter Nominalists for the same reason. Each of the contending parties were, in process of time, subdivided into various sects, on account of the different ways in which many explained the doctrine that was the badge and characteristic of their sect [q]. This controversy made a prodigious noise in all the schools throughout *Europe* during many succeeding ages, and produced often unhappy contentions and animosities between philosophers and divines. Some are of opinion, that it derived its origin from the disputes, that were carried on between BERENGER, and his adver-

[q] The learned BRUCKER, in his *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iii. p. 904. gives an ample account of the sect of the Nominalists, and enlarges a good deal upon the nature and circumstances of this logical contest; he also mentions the various writers, who have made this sect and its doctrine the object of their researches. Among these writers, the principal was JOHN SALABERT, presbyter in the diocese of *Agen*, who published at *Paris*, in the year 1651, in 8vo. a treatise entitled, *Philosophia Nominalium Vindicata*. This book, which is extremely rare, has been seen by none of the authors who have written professedly concerning the sect of the Nominalists. A copy of it, taken from the manuscript in the French king's library, was communicated to me, from which it appears, that SALABERT, who was certainly a very acute and ingenious logician, employed his labour rather in defending the doctrine of the Nominalists than in giving an accurate account of their sect. There are, however, several things to be found in his book, which are far from being generally known, even among the learned.

saries,

series, concerning the eucharist [r]; a notion which, though it be advanced without authority, is yet, by no means, destitute of probability, since the hypothesis of the Nominalists might be very successfully employed in defending the doctrine of BERENGER, concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

CENT.
XI.
PART II.

IX. The sect of the Nominalists had for their chief a certain person called JOHN, who, on account of his logical subtilty, was surnamed the *Sophist*, which is the only circumstance we know of his history [s]. His principal disciples were ROBERT of *Paris*, ROSCELIN of *Compiègne*, and ARNOUL of *Laon*, who propagated his doctrine with industry and success, to whom we may add, with some probability, RAIMBERT, the master of a famous school at *Lisle* in *Flanders*, who is said, according to the quibbling humour of the times, to *have read NOMINAL logic to his disciples, while ODO*, whom we have already had occasion to mention, *instructed his scholars in REALITY* [t]. The most renowned of all the *nominal* philosophers of this age was ROSCELIN; and hence it is that many have considered him

[r] DU BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. i. p. 443.—GERH. DU BOIS, *Hist. Eccles. Paris*. tom. i. p. 770.

[s] This account we have from the unknown author of the *Fragmentum Historiæ Franciæ à Roberto rege ad mortem Philippi I*, which is published in DU CHESNE'S *Scriptores Historiæ Francicæ*, tom. iv. p. 90. whose words are as follows: *In Dialectica hi potentes extiterunt Sophistæ, Johannes, qui artem Sophisticam vocalem esse differuit*, &c.—DU BOULAY (*Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. i. p. 443. et 612.) conjectures, that this JOHN the Sophist was the same person with JOHN of *Chartres*, surnamed the *Deaf*, who was first physician to HENRY I, king of *France*, and had acquired a high degree of renown by his genius and erudition. The same author (p. 377.) tells us, that JOHN had for his master, GIRALDUS of *Orleans*, who was an incomparable poet and an excellent rhetorician, but he advances this without any proof. MABILLON, on the other hand, in his *Annal. Bened.* tom. v. lib. lxxvii. § lxxviii. p. 261. supposes, that JOHN the Nominalist was the same person, who made known to ANSELM the error of ROSCELINUS concerning the three persons in the Godhead.

[t] The passage in the original is: *Qui dialecticam clericis suis in VOCE legebat, quum ODO in RE discipulis legeret*. See HERIMANNUS, *Hist. restaurationis Monasterii Sti. Martini Tornacens.* in DACHERII *Spicilegio Veter. Scriptor.* tom. ii. p. 889.

as the chief and founder of that sect, and that he is still considered as such by several learned men.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the doctors and ministers of the church, and its form of government, during this century.

The corruption of the clergy.

ALL the records of this century loudly complain of the vices that reigned among the rulers of the church, and, in general, among all the sacerdotal orders; they also deplore that universal decay of piety and discipline, that was the consequence of this corruption in a set of men, who were bound to support, by their example, their authority, and their instructions, the sacred interests of religion and virtue. The western bishops were no sooner elevated to the rank of dukes, counts, and nobles, and enriched with ample territories, than they gave themselves up entirely to the dominion of pleasure and ambition, and, wholly employed in displaying the magnificence of their temporal stations, frequented the courts of princes, accompanied always with a splendid train of attendants and domestics [u]. The inferior orders of the clergy were also licentious in their own way; few among them preserved any remains of piety and virtue, we might add, of decency and discretion. While their rulers were wallowing in luxury, and basking in the beams of worldly pomp and splendor, they were indulging themselves, without the least sense of shame, in fraudulent practices, in impure and lascivious gratifications, and even in the commission of the most flagitious crimes. The Grecian clergy were somewhat less chargeable with these shocking irregularities, as the calamities under which their country groaned imposed a restraint upon their passions, and gave a check to their licentiousness. Yet, notwithstanding these salutary re-

[u] See among other examples of this episcopal grandeur, that of ADALBERT, in ADAM. *Bremens.* lib. iii. cap. xxiii. p. 38. lib. iv. cap. xxxv. p. 52. that of GUNTHER, in the *Lectiones Antiquæ* of CANISIUS, tom. iii. part I. p. 185. and that of MANASSES, in the *Museum Italicum* of MABILLON, tom. i. p. 114. Add to all these MURATORI *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. vi. p. 72.

straints, there were few examples of piety and virtue to be found among them.

II. The authority and lustre of the Latin church, or, to speak more properly, the power and dominion of the Roman pontiffs, arose in this century to their highest period, though they arose by degrees, and had much opposition and many difficulties to conquer. In the preceding age the pontiffs had acquired a great degree of authority in religious matters, and in every thing that related to the government of the church; and their credit and influence increased prodigiously towards the commencement of this century. For then they received the pompous titles of *masters of the world*, and *popes*, i. e. *universal fathers*; they presided also every where in the councils by their legates; assumed the authority of supreme arbiters in all controversies that arose concerning religion or church discipline; and maintained the pretended rights of the church against the encroachments and usurpations of kings and princes. Their authority, however, was confined within certain limits; for on the one hand, it was restrained by sovereign princes, that it might not arrogantly aim at civil dominion; and on the other, it was opposed by the bishops themselves, that it might not arise to a spiritual despotism, and utterly destroy the liberty and privileges of synods and councils [w]. From the time of LEO IX, the popes employed every method, which the most artful ambition could suggest, to remove these limits, and to render their dominion both despotic and universal. They not only aspired to the character of supreme legislators in the church, to an unlimited jurisdiction over all synods and councils whether general or provincial, to the sole distribution of all ecclesiastical honours and benefices as divinely authorised and appointed for that purpose, but they carried their insolent pretensions so far as to give themselves out for lords of the universe, arbiters of the fate of kingdoms and empires, and

CENT.

XI.

PART II.

The authority of the Roman pontiffs.

[w] The very learned LAUNOY (in his *Affertio contra Privilegium Sti Medardi*, part II. cap. xxxi. opp. tom. iii. part II. p. 307.) has given us an accurate account of the ecclesiastical laws, and of the power of the hierarchy, during this century, which he collected from the letters of pope GREGORY VII; from which account it appears, that GREGORY, ambitious as he was, did not pretend to a supreme and despotic authority in the church.

CENT.
XI.
PART II.

supreme rulers over the kings and princes of the earth. Before LEO IX, no pope was so enormously impudent as to claim this unbounded authority, or to assume the power of transferring territories and provinces from their lawful possessors to new masters. This pontif gave the example of such an amazing pretension to his *holy* successors, by granting to the Normans, who had settled in *Italy*, the lands and territories which they had already usurped, or were employed in forcing out of the hands of the Greeks and Saracens [x]. The ambition, however, of the aspiring popes was opposed by the emperors, the kings of *France*, by WILLIAM the Conqueror, who was now seated on the throne of *England*, and was the boldest assertor of the rights and privileges of royalty against the high claims of the apostolic see [y], and also by several other princes. Nor did the bishops, particularly those of *France* and *Germany*, sit tamely silent under the papal yoke; many of them endeavoured to maintain their rights and the privileges of the church; but as many, seduced by the allurements of interest or the dictates of superstition, sacrificed their liberties, and yielded to the pontifs. Hence

[x] See GAUFR. MALATERRA *Hist. Sicula*, lib. i. cap. xiv. p. 553. tom. v. *Scriptor. Ital.* MURATORII. ¶ The translator has here incorporated the note [s] of the original into the text.

[y] See EADMERI *Historia novorum*, lib. i. p. 29. which is published at the end of the works of ANSELM, archbishop of *Canterbury*. It is proper to observe here, that if it is true on the one hand, that WILLIAM the Conqueror opposed, on many occasions, with the utmost vehemence and zeal the growing power of the Roman pontifs, and of the aspiring bishops; it is no less certain, on the other, that, to accomplish his ambitious views, he, like many other European princes, had recourse to the influence of the pontifs upon the minds of the multitude, and thereby nourished and encouraged the pride and ambition of the court of *Rome*. For while he was preparing all things for his expedition into *England*, he sent ambassadors to pope ALEXANDER II, in order (as MATTHEW PARIS says, *Hist. Major*, lib. i. p. 2.) to have his undertaking approved and justified by apostolical authority; and the pope, having considered the claims of the contending parties, sent a STANDARD to WILLIAM as the omen of his approaching royalty. It is highly probable, that the Normans in *Italy* had made the same humble request to LEO IX, and demanded his confirmation both of the possessions they had acquired, and of those they designed to usurp. And when we consider all this, it will not appear so surprizing that the popes aimed at universal empire, since they were encouraged to this by the mean submissions and servile homage of the European princes.

it happened, that these imperious lords of the church, though they did not entirely gain their point, nor satisfy to the full their raging ambition, yet obtained vast augmentations of power, and extended their authority from day to day.

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

III. The see of *Rome*, after the death of SILVESTER II, which happened in the year 1003, was filled successively by JOHN XVII, JOHN XVIII, and SERGIUS IV, none of whose pontificates were distinguished by any memorable events; it is, however, proper to observe, that these three popes were confirmed in the see of *Rome* by the approbation and authority of the emperors, under whose reign they were elected to that high dignity. BENEDICT VIII, who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1012, being obliged by his competitor GREGORY to leave *Rome*, fled into *Germany* for succour, and threw himself at the feet of HENRY II, by whom he was re-instated in the Apostolic chair, which he possessed in peace until the year 1024. It was during his pontificate, that those famous Normans, who make such a shining figure in history, came into *Italy*, and reduced several of its richest provinces under their dominion. BENEDICT was succeeded by his brother JOHN XIX, who ruled the church until the year 1033. The five pontiffs we have now been mentioning were not chargeable with dishonouring their high station by that licentiousness and immorality that rendered so many of their successors infamous; their lives were virtuous; at least, their conduct was decent. But their examples had little effect upon BENEDICT IX, a most abandoned profligate, and a wretch capable of the most horrid crimes, whose flagitious conduct drew upon him the just resentment of the Romans, who, in the year 1038, degraded him from his office. He was afterwards indeed restored, by the emperor CONRAD, to the papal chair; but, instead of learning circumspection and prudence from his former disgrace, he grew still more scandalous in his life and manners, and so provoked the Roman people by his repeated crimes, that they deposed him a second time A. D. 1044, and elected in his place JOHN bishop of *Sabina*, who assumed the name of SILVESTER III. About three months after this new revolution, the relations and adherents of BENEDICT rose up in arms, drove SYL-

S 3 VESTER

CENT.
XI.
PART II.

VESTER out of the city, and restored the degraded pontif to his forfeited honours, which, however, he did not enjoy long ; for, perceiving that there was no possibility of appealing the resentment of the Romans, he sold the pontificate to JOHN GRATIAN, arch-presbyter of *Rome*, who took the name of GREGORY VI. Thus the church had, at the same time, two chiefs, SYLVESTER and GREGORY, whose rivalry was the occasion of much trouble and confusion. This contest was terminated in the year 1046, in the council held at *Sutri* by the emperor HENRY III, who so ordered matters, that BENEDICT, GREGORY, and SYLVESTER were declared unworthy of the pontificate, and SUIDGER, bishop of *Bamberg*, was raised to that dignity, which he enjoyed for a short time under the title of CLEMENT II [z].

IV. After the death of CLEMENT II, which happened in the year 1047, BENEDICT IX, though twice degraded, aimed anew at the papal dignity, and accordingly forced himself into St. PETER's chair for the third time. But the year following he was obliged to surrender the pontificate to POPPO, bishop of *Brixen*, known by the name of DAMASUS II, whom HENRY II elected pope in *Germany*, and sent from thence into *Italy* to take possession of that dignity. Upon the death of DAMASUS, who ruled the see of *Rome* but three and twenty days, the same emperor, in the diet held at *Worms* A. D. 1048, appointed BRUNO, bishop of *Toul*, to succeed him in the pontificate. This prelate is known in the list of the popes by the name of LEO IX; and his private virtues, as well as his public acts of zeal and piety in the government of the church, were deemed meritorious enough to entitle him to a place among the faintly order. But if we deduce from these pretended virtues his vehement zeal for augmenting the opulence and authority of the church of *Rome*, and his laudable severity in correcting and punishing certain enormous

[z] In this compendious account of the popes, I have followed the relations of FRANCIS and ANTHONY PAGI, PAPEBROCK, and also those of MURATORI, in his *Annales Italiae*, persuaded that the learned and judicious reader will justify my treating with the utmost contempt, what BARONIUS and others have alledged in favour of GREGORY VI.

vices [a], which were common among the clergy during his pontificate, there will remain little in the life and administration of this pontif, that could give him any pretension to such a distinction. It is, at least, certain, that many, who industriously conceal or excuse the numerous infirmities and failings of the pontifs, censure, with the utmost freedom, the temerity and injustice of the measures he took towards the conclusion of his days. Such, among others, was the war which he inconsiderately entered into, in the year 1053, with the Normans, whose neighbourhood he did not like, and whom he was grieved to see in the possession of *Apulia*. His temerity, indeed, was severely punished by the issue of this war, from which he derived the bitterest fruits, being taken prisoner by the enemy, and led captive to *Benevento*. Here dismal reflexions upon his unhappy fate preyed upon his spirits, and threw him into a dangerous fit of sickness; so that after a year's imprisonment he was sent to *Rome*, where he concluded his days on the 19th of *April*, A. D. 1054 [b].

V. After the death of LEO the papal chair was filled, in the year 1055, by GEBHARD, bishop of *Eichstadt*, who assumed the name of VICTOR II, and, after governing the church about three years, was succeeded by STEPHEN IX, brother to GODFREY, duke of *Lorrain*, who died a few months after his election. Nothing memorable happened under the administration of these two pontifs. GERRARD, bishop of *Florence*, who obtained the papacy A. D. 1058, and took the name of NICOLAS II, makes a greater figure in history than several of his predecessors [c]. We pass in silence JOHN, bishop of *Veletri*, who usurped the pontificate, as also the title of BENEDICT X, after the death of STEPHEN, and who was deposed with ignominy, after

✂ In several councils, which he assembled in *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*, he proposed rigorous laws against simony, sodomy, incestuous and adulterous marriages; the custom of carrying arms that was grown universal among the clergy; the apostasy of the monks, who abandoned their habit and renounced their profession, &c.

[b] See the *Acta Sanctorum ad d. xix Aprilis*, tom. iii. p. 642.—*Hist. Literaire de la France*, tom. vii. p. 459.—GIANNONE *Hist. de Naples*, tom. ii. p. 52.

[c] Besides the accounts given of NICOLAS II, by the writers of the papal history, there is a particular and accurate history of this pontif drawn up by the Benedictine monks, in the *Hist. Liter. de la France*, tom. vii. p. 515.

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

having possessed about nine months the dignity, to which he had no other title, than what he derived from lawless violence. NICOLAS, upon the removal of this usurper, assembled a council at *Rome* A. D. 1059, in which, among many salutary laws designed to heal the inveterate disorders that had afflicted the church, one remarkable decree was passed for changing the ancient form of electing the Roman pontif; this alteration was designed to prevent the tumults and commotions which arose in *Rome*, and the factions which divided *Italy*, when a new pope was to be elected. The same pontif received the homage of the Normans, and solemnly created ROBERT GUISCARD duke of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicily*, on condition that he should observe, as a faithful vassal, an inviolable allegiance to the Roman church, and pay an annual tribute in acknowledgement of his subjection to the apostolic see. By what authority NICOLAS confirmed the Norman prince in the possession of these provinces, is more than we know; certain it is, that he had no sort of property in the lands which he granted so liberally to the Normans, who held them already by the odious right of conquest [d]. Perhaps the lordly pontif founded this right of cession, upon the fictitious donation of CONSTANTINE, which has been already taken notice of in the course of this history; or, probably, seduced by the artful and ambitious suggestions of HILDEBRAND, who had himself an eye upon the pontificate, and afterwards filled it, in effect, under the adopted name of GREGORY VII, he imagined that, as CHRIST's vicegerent, the Roman pontif was the king of kings, and had the whole universe for his domain. It is well known that HILDEBRAND had a supreme ascendant in the counsels of NICOLAS, and that the latter neither undertook nor executed any thing without his direction. Be that as it may, it was the feudal grant made to GUISCARD by this pope, that laid the foundation of the kingdom of *Naples*, or of the two *Sicilies*, and of the sovereignty over that kingdom which the Roman pontifs constantly claim, and which the Sicilian monarchs annually acknowledge.

[d] See MURATORI *Annali d'Italia*, tom. vi. p. 186.—BARONIUS *Annal. ad A. 1060.*

VI. Before the pontificate of NICOLAS II, the popes were chosen not only by the suffrages of the *cardinals*, but also by those of the whole Roman clergy, the nobility, the burgesſes, and the aſſembly of the people. An election, in which ſuch a confuſed and jarring multitude was concerned, could not but produce continual factions, animoſities, and tumults. To prevent theſe, as far as was poſſible, this artful and provident pontif had a law paſſed, by which the *cardinals*, as well preſbyters as biſhops, were empowered, upon a vacancy in the ſee of *Rome*, to elect a new pope, without any prejudice to the ancient privileges of the Roman emperors in this important matter [e]. Nor were the reſt of the clergy, with the burgesſes and people, excluded from all part in this election, ſince their conſent was ſolemnly demanded, and alſo eſteemed of

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

The privileges of the *cardinals* in the election of the pope.

[e] It does not appear, that NICOLAS was at all ſollicitous about the privileges of the emperor, and his authority in the election of the biſhop of *Rome*; for the words of the decree in all the various copies of it are to this import: “The *cardinals* ſhall firſt deliberate concerning the election of a pontif, and the conſent of the other clergy and of the people ſhall be required to confirm their choice. “The pope ſhall be choſen out of the members that compoſe the church of *Rome*, if a proper perſon can be found among them; if not, he ſhall be elected elſewhere. *All this without any prejudice to the honour of our dear ſon HENRY (who is now king and ſhall be ſoon emperor, as we have already promiſed him) or to the honour of his ſucceſſors on whom the apoſtolic ſee ſhall confer perſonally and ſucceſſively the ſame high privilege.*” Here we ſee the good pontif taking manifeſtly advantage of the minority of HENRY IV, to depreciate and diminiſh the ancient prerogatives of the imperial crown, and to magnify the authority of the papal mitre; for he declares as a *personal right* granted by the Roman ſee to each emperor for himſelf, the privilege of confirming the pope’s election, whereas it is well known that that privilege had been veſted in the emperors of *Germany* during many preceding ages. See FLEURY *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* vol. xiii. livre lx. p. 64, 65. *Brussels* edition.—It is proper to obſerve here, that the cringing and ignoble ſubmiſſion of CHARLES the Bald, who would not accept of the title of emperor before it was conferred upon him by the Roman pontif, occaſioned, in proceſs of time, that abſurd notion that the papal conſecration was requiſite in order to qualify the kings of *Germany* to aſſume the title of Roman emperors, though, without that conſecration, theſe kings had all *Italy* under their dominion, and exerciſed in every part of it the various rights and prerogatives of ſovereignty. Hence the kings of *Germany* were firſt ſtyled kings of the Franks and Lombards, afterwards kings of the Romans until the year 1508, when MAXIMILIAN I changed the title of *king* into that of *emperor*.

much

CENT.
XI.
PART II.

much weight [f]. In consequence, however, of this new regulation, the *cardinals* acted the principal part in the creation of the new pontif; though they suffered for a long time much opposition both from the sacerdotal orders and the Roman citizens, who were constantly either reclaiming their ancient rights, or abusing the privilege they yet retained of confirming the election of every new pope by their approbation and consent. In the following century there was an end put to all these disputes by ALEXANDER III, who was so lucky as to finish and complete what NICOLAS had only begun, and who transferred and confined to the college of *cardinals* the right of electing to the apostolic see, excluding the nobility, the people, and the rest of the clergy, from all concern in this important matter [g].

It may not be improper here to give some account of the origin of the *cardinals* [b], and the nature of their privileges and functions. Many writers [i] have treated this

[f] The decree of NICOLAS concerning the election of the Roman pontif is to be found in many authors, and particularly in the *Concilia*. But upon comparing together several copies of this famous decree, I found them in many respects very different from each other. In some copies the decree appears abridged; in others, it is long and prolix. In some it seems favourable to the rights and privileges of the Roman emperors; in others, it appears to have the contrary tendency. The most ample copy is that which we find in the *Chronicon Farfense* in MURATORI's *Scriptores rerum Italicarum*, tom. ii. part II. p. 645. which differs however, in various circumstances, from that which is published by HUGO FLORIANENSIS, in his book *De regia potestate et sacerdotali dignitate*, in BALUZII *Miscellaneis*, tom. iv. p. 62. Notwithstanding the diversity that there is in the copies of this famous decree, they all agree in confirming the accounts we have given of the plans and pontificate of NICOLAS.

[g] See MABILLON, *Comm. in Ord. Roman.* tom. ii. *Musei Italici*, p. 114.—CONSTANT. CENNI *Præf. ad Concilium Lateran. Stephani* iii. p. 18. Rom. 1735, in 4to.—FRANC. PAGI *Breviarium Pontif. Romanor.* tom. ii. p. 374.

[b] The translator has here incorporated into the text the long and important note [c] of the original, concerning the *cardinals*. The citations and references only are thrown into the notes.

[i] The authors who have written concerning the name, origin, and rights of the *cardinals*, are enumerated by JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, in his *Bibliogr. Antiquar.* p. 455, 456.—CASP. SAGGITARIUS *Introd. ad Historiam Ecclesiast.* cap. xxix. p. 771. et JO. ANDR. SCHMIDIUS in *Supplement.* p. 644.—CHRIST. GRYPHIUS *Isagoge ad Historiam sæculi xvii.* p. 430. add to these LUDOV. THOMASSINI *Disciplina Ecclesiæ vetus et nova*, tom. i. lib. ii. cap. 115, subject

subject in an ample manner, and have shed upon it a profusion of erudition, which deserves, no doubt, the highest applause ; but they are, generally speaking, defective in perspicuity and precision ; nor do I know of any, who have confined themselves to the true state of the question, and investigated, in a satisfactory manner, the true origin of the office of cardinal, and the reasons that occasioned the institution of that order of ecclesiastics. Several learned men have employed much time and labour in fixing the sense of the word *cardinal*, and in illustrating its meaning from ancient monuments and records ; but, however worthy of a curious philologist these researches may be, yet they contribute little or nothing to clear up the point in question, or to convey an accurate and satisfactory notion of the true origin of the college of cardinals, and the nature of that ecclesiastical dignity. It is certain, that the word *cardinal*, when applied to persons or things, or more especially to the sacred order, was, according to the language of the middle age, a term of dubious signification, and was susceptible of various senses. It is also well known, that in former times this title was, by no means, peculiar to the priests and ministers of the church of *Rome*, but was in use in all the Latin churches, and that not only the *secular* clergy, but also the *regular*, such as abbots, canons, and monks, were capable of this denomination, and were stiled *cardinals*, though in different senses. But after the pontificate of ALEXANDER III, the common use of the term *cardinal* was gradually diminished, and it was confined to such only as were immediately concerned in the election of the pope, and who had the right of suffrage in this weighty matter. So that when we inquire into the origin of the college of *cardinals* at *Rome*, the question is not, who they were, that in the remoter periods of the church were distinguished, among the Latins in general, or at *Rome* in particular, from the rest of the clergy, by the name of *cardinals* ; nor do we inquire into the proper signification of that term, or into the various senses in which it was formerly employed ; the true state of the

116. p. 616. & LUD. ANT. MURATORI, whose learned dissertation *De origine cardinalatus* is published in his *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 156.

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

question is this : Who the persons were that NICOLAS II comprehended under the denomination of *cardinals*, when he vested in the Roman *cardinals* alone the right of electing the new pontif, and excluded from that important privilege the rest of the clergy, the nobility, the burgeses and the people ? When this is known with certainty, then we shall have a just notion of the *college of cardinals* in its first rise, and shall also perceive the difference there is between the first *cardinals*, and those of our times. Now this may easily be learned from the edict of NICOLAS II, which sets the matter in the clearest light. *We have thought proper to enact*, says the pontif, *that, upon the decease of the bishop of the Roman catholic or universal church, the affair of the election be treated principally and previously to all other deliberations, among the CARDINAL BISHOPS alone, who shall afterwards call in to their council the CARDINAL CLERKS, and require finally the consent of the rest of the clergy and the people to their election* [k]. Here we see, that the pontif divides into two classes the *cardinals* who were to have the right of suffrage in the election of his successors, one of which he calls *cardinal bishops*, and the other *cardinal clerks*. By the former we are manifestly to understand the seven bishops, who belonged to the city and territory of Rome, whom NICOLAS calls, in the same edict, *comprovinciales episcopi* (an epithet which had been used before by LEO I) and who had been distinguished by the title of *cardinal bishops* long before the present century. The words of NICOLAS confirm this account of the matter, and place it beyond all possibility of contradiction ; for he declares, that by *cardinal bishops* he understands those to whom it belonged to consecrate the pontif elect ; *since the apostolic see*, observes the papal legislator, *cannot be under the jurisdiction of any superior or metropolitan* [l], the CAR-

[k] The passage of the edict (which we have here translated from HUGO FLORIACUS in BALUZII *Miscell.* tom. iv. p. 62.) runs thus in the original : *Constituimus ut, obeunte hujus Romana universalis Ecclesie Pontifice, imprimis CARDINALES EPISCOPI diligentissima simul consideratione tractantes, mox sibi CLERICOS CARDINALES adhibeant, sicque reliquos Clerus et Populus ad consensum novæ electionis accedant.*

[l] In the consecration of a new bishop in any province the metropolitan always bore the principal part ; as therefore there was

DINAL

DINAL BISHOPS *must necessarily supply the place of a metropolitan, and fix the elected pontif on the summit of apostolic exaltation and empire* [m]. Now it is well known, that the seven bishops of *Rome*, abovementioned, had the privilege of consecrating the Roman pontif.

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

All these things being duly considered, we shall immediately perceive the true nature and meaning of the famous edict, according to which it is manifest, that, upon the death of a pontif, the CARDINAL BISHOPS were first to deliberate *alone* concerning a proper successor, and to examine the respective merit of the candidates that might pretend to this high dignity, and afterwards to call in the CARDINAL CLERKS, not only to demand their counsel, but also to join with them in the election. The word *clerk* here bears the same sense with that of *presbyter*; and it is undeniably certain, that the name of *cardinal presbyters* was given to the ministers of the eight and twenty Roman *parishes*, or principal churches. All the rest of the clergy, of whatever order or rank they might be, were, together with the people, expressly excluded from the right of voting in the election of the pontif, though they were allowed what is called a *negative* suffrage, and their consent was required to what the others had done. From all which it appears, that the college of electors, who chose the Roman pontif, and who after this period were called *cardinals* in a new and unusual acceptation of that term, consisted, according to their original establishment by NICOLAS II, of only two orders, namely, *cardinal bishops* and *cardinal clerks*, or *presbyters* [n].

no metropolitan to instal the pope, the CARDINAL BISHOPS performed that ceremony.

[m] Such are the swelling and bombastic terms of the edict: *Quia sedes apostolica super se metropolitanum habere non potest; cardinales episcopi metropolitani vice proculdubio fungantur, qui electum antistitem ad apostolici culminis apicem provebant.*

[n] We must therefore take care that we be not misled by the error of ONUPHR. PANVINIUS, who affirms, * that the *cardinal bishops* were not added to the college of cardinals before the pontificate of ALEXANDER III. Nor are we to listen to the supposition of those writers, who imagine that certain *deacons* were, from the beginning, members of that college of *cardinals*, by whom the popes were elected. There were, indeed, in the Roman church, long before the edict of NICOLAS, and there still remain, *cardinal deacons*, i. e. superin-

* See MABILLON, *Comment. in Ordinem Rom.* p. 115. tom. ii. *Musei Italici.*

SENT.
XI.
PART II.

It is necessary to observe, before we finish this digression, that the famous decree of NICOLAS could not obtain the force of a law. "It is evident, says ANSELM, *bishop of Lucca* [o], that the edict of NICOLAS is, and always has been, without the smallest degree of weight or authority. But in affirming this, I have not the least design to cast any reflexion upon the blessed memory of that pontif, or to derogate from the applause that is due to his virtues. . . . as a man, however, he was fallible, and, through the weakness that is inseparable from humanity, was liable to be seduced into measures that were inconsistent with equity and justice." It is true, the prelate has here principally in view that part of the edict in which NICOLAS acknowledges and confirms the right of the emperors to ratify the election of the Roman pontif; yet what he says is undoubtedly true of the whole edict in all its parts. For the seven *Palatine judges* [p], who were excluded by this decree from the important privilege they had formerly enjoyed of voting in the election to the apostolic see, complained loudly of the injury that was done them, and, seconded in their complaints by the various orders of the clergy, and by the clamours of the army, the citizens, and the multitude, they declared their opposition to the execution of this edict, and gave much trouble and uneasiness to the *cardinals* who had been constituted electors by NICOLAS. To appease these tumults, ALEXANDER III augmented the college of the electing *cardinals*, by conferring that dignity upon the prior, or arch-prefbyter, of *St. John Lateran*, the arch-prefbyters of

tendants of those churches which have hospitals annexed to them, and whose revenues are appropriated to the support of the poor; but they were evidently excluded from the election of the pope, which, by the edict of NICOLAS, was to be made by the *cardinal bishops and clerks* alone. Hence we find the *cardinals* plainly distinguished from the deacons in the diploma that was drawn up for the election of GREGORY VII to the pontificate.

[o] ANSELM *Luccensis* lib. ii. *contra WIBERTUM, Antipapam, et sequaces ejus*, in CANISII *Lectiōib. Antiquis*, tom. iii. part I. p. 383.

[p] These judges were the *Primicerius, Secundicerius, Arcarius, Saccellarius, Protoſcriniarius, Primicerius Defensorum, et adminiculatōr*; for a particular account of whose respective offices, services, and privileges, see GRÆVII *Thesaurus Antiquit.* DU CANGE, &c.

St. Peter's and *St. Mary Maggiore*, the abbots of *St. Paul's* and *St. Laurence without the wall*, and, lastly, upon the seven *Palatine judges* [q]. By this dextrous stratagem the higher order of the clergy was defeated, and ceased to oppose the measures of the *cardinal electors*; nor, indeed, could their opposition be of any significance, since their chiefs and leaders were become members of the sacred college instituted by NICOLAS. The *inferior clergy* continued yet obstinate; but their opposition was vanquished in the same manner, and they were reduced to silence by the promotion of their chiefs, the *cardinal deacons*, to the dignity of electors. Who it was, whether ALEXANDER III, or some other pontif, that raised the principal Roman deacons to the rank of *cardinals*, is not certain; but nothing is more evident than that the design of this promotion was to put an end to the murmurs and complaints of the inferior clergy, who resented highly the violation of their privileges.

When the various orders of the clergy were drawn off from the opposition, it was no difficult matter to silence the people, and to exclude them from all part in the election of the pontif. And accordingly, when, upon the death of ALEXANDER III, it was proposed to choose LUCIUS III [r] as his successor, the consent and approbation of the clergy and people, which had hitherto been always esteemed necessary to ratify the election, were not so much as demanded, and the affair was transacted by the college of *cardinals* alone, who have continued to maintain that exclusive and important privilege even to our times. Some writers affirm, that INNOCENT II had been elected in the same manner, by the *cardinals* alone, without the consent of the clergy or the people, several years before the pontificate of LUCIUS [s]; this may be true, but it is nothing to the purpose; for as the election of INNOCENT II was irregular, it cannot be alledged in the case before us.

[q] CENNI *Præf. ad Concil. Lateran. Stephan. iii. p. 19.*—MABILLON, *Comment. ad Ord. Roman. p. 115. ex Panvinio.*

[r] In the original, instead of LUCIUS III, we read VICTOR III, which was certainly a mistake of inadvertency in the learned author.

[s] See PAGI *Breviar. Pontif. Romanor. tom. ii. p. 615.*

C E N T.
 XI.
 P A R T II.

VII. From what has been observed in the preceding section we may conclude, that the college of *cardinals*, and the extensive authority and important privileges they enjoy at this day, derive their origin from the edict published at the request and under the pontificate of NICOLAS II; that, under the title of *cardinals*, this pontif comprehended the seven Roman bishops, who were considered as his *suffragans*, and of whom the bishop of *Ostia* was the chief, as also the eight and twenty ministers, who had inspection over the principal Roman churches; and that to these were added, in process of time, under ALEXANDER III and other pontifs, new members, in order to appease the resentment of those who looked upon themselves as injured by the edict of NICOLAS, and also to answer other purposes of ecclesiastical policy. We see, also, from an attentive view of this matter, that though the high order of purpled prelates, commonly called *cardinals*, had its rise in the eleventh century, yet it does not seem to have acquired the stable and undisputed authority of a legal council before the following age and the pontificate of ALEXANDER III.

VIII. Though NICOLAS II had expressly acknowledged and confirmed in his edict the right of the emperor to ratify by his consent the election of the pontif; his eyes were no sooner closed, than the Romans, at the instigation of HILDEBRAND, archdeacon, and afterwards bishop of *Rome*, violated this imperial privilege in the most presumptuous manner. For they not only elected to the pontificate ANSELM, bishop of *Lucca*, who assumed the name of ALEXANDER II, but also solemnly installed him in that high office without so much as consulting the emperor HENRY IV, or giving him the least information of the matter. AGNES, the mother of the young emperor, no sooner received an account of this irregular transaction by the bishops of *Lombardy*, to whom the election of ANSELM was extremely disagreeable, than she assembled a council at *Basil*, and, in order to maintain the authority of her son, who was yet a minor, caused CADOLAUS, bishop of *Parma*, to be created pontif, under the title of HONORIUS II. Hence arose a long and furious contest between the two rival pontifs, who maintained their respective pretensions by the force of arms, and presented a scene of bloodshed and

and horror in the church of CHRIST, which was designed to be the center of charity and peace. In this violent contention ALEXANDER triumphed, though he could never engage his obstinate adversary to desist from his pretensions [t].

IX. This contest, indeed, was of little consequence when viewed in comparison with the dreadful commotions which HILDEBRAND, who succeeded ALEXANDER, and assumed the name of GREGORY VII, excited both in church and state, and nourished and fomented until the end of his days. This vehement pontif, who was a Tuscan, born of mean parents, rose, by various steps from the obscure station of a monk of *Cluni*, to the rank of archdeacon in the Roman church, and, from the time of LEO IX, who treated him with peculiar marks of distinction, was accustomed to govern the Roman pontifs by his counsels, which had acquired the highest degree of influence and authority. In the year 1073, and the same day that ALEXANDER was interred, he was raised to the pontificate by the unanimous suffrages of the cardinals, bishops, abbots, monks, and people, and, consequently, without any regard being paid to the edict of NICOLAS II, and his election was confirmed by the approbation and consent of HENRY IV, king of the Romans, to whom ambassadors had been sent for that purpose. This prince, indeed, had soon reason to repent of the consent he had given to an election, which became so prejudicial to his own authority, so fatal to the interests and liberties of the church, and so detrimental, in general, to the sovereignty and independence of kingdoms and empires [u]. HIL-

[t] FERDIN. UGHELLI *Italia Sacra*, tom. ii. p. 166.—JO. JAC. MASCOVIUS, *De rebus imperii sub Henrico IV et V*, lib. i. p. 7.—FRANC. PAGI *Breviar. Pontificum Romanor.* tom. ii. p. 385.—MURATORI *Annali d' Italia*, tom. vi. p. 214.

[u] The writers, who have given the amplest accounts of the life and exploits of GREGORY VII, are enumerated by CASP. SAGITTARIUS, in his *Introd. ad Hist. Ecclesiast.* tom. i. p. 687. and by AND. SCHMIDIUS, in his *Supplement.* tom. ii. p. 627.—See also the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. v. *Maii ad d. xxv.* p. 568. and MABILLON, *Acta Sanctor. Ordin. Benedicti Sacul.* vi. p. 406. Add to these *The life of GREGORY VII*, published at *Franckfort* in the year 1710, by JUST. CHRISTOPHER DITHMAR, as also the authors, who have written the history of the contests that arose between the Empire and the Hierarchy of *Rome*, and of the wars that were occasioned by the dispute concerning *Investitures*.

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

DEBRAND was a man of uncommon genius, whose ambition in forming the most arduous projects was equalled by his dexterity in bringing them into execution; sagacious, crafty, and intrepid, nothing could escape his penetration, defeat his stratagems, or daunt his courage; haughty and arrogant beyond all measure; obstinate, impetuous, and intractable; he looked up to the summit of universal empire with a wishful eye, and laboured up the steep ascent with uninterrupted ardor, and invincible perseverance; void of all principle, and destitute of every pious and virtuous feeling, he suffered little restraint in his audacious pursuits, from the dictates of religion or the remonstrances of conscience. Such was the character of HILDEBRAND, and his conduct was every way suitable to it; for no sooner did he find himself in the papal chair, than he displayed to the world the most odious marks of his tyrannic ambition. Not contented to enlarge the jurisdiction and to augment the opulence of the see of *Rome*, he laboured indefatigably to render the universal church subject to the despotic government and the arbitrary power of the pontif alone, to dissolve the jurisdiction which kings and emperors had hitherto exercised over the various orders of the clergy, and to exclude them from all part in the management or distribution of the revenues of the church. Nay, this outrageous pontif went still farther, and impiously attempted to submit to his jurisdiction the emperors, kings, and princes of the earth, and to render their dominions tributary to the see of *Rome*. Such were the *pious* and *apostolic* exploits that employed the activity of GREGORY VII, during his whole life, and which render his pontificate, a continued scene of tumult, and bloodshed. Were it necessary to bring any farther proofs of his tyranny and arrogance, his fierce impetuosity and boundless ambition, we might appeal to those famous *sentences*, which are generally called, after him, the *dictates* of HILDEBRAND, and which shew in a lively manner the spirit and character of this restless pontif [w].

[w] *Dictatus Hildebrandini*. By these are understood twenty-seven apophthegms, or short sentences, relating to the supreme authority of the Roman pontifs over the universal church, and the kingdoms of the world, which are to be found in the second book of the Epistles of GREGORY VII, between the fifty-fifth and the fifty-

X. Under the pontificate of HILDEBRAND, the face of the Latin church was entirely changed, its government subverted, and the most important and valuable of those rights and privileges that had been formerly vested in its councils, bishops, and sacred colleges, were usurped by the

C E N T.
XI.

P A R T II.

His exploits

sixth Epistle, under the title of *Dictatus Papæ*, i. e. *Dictates of the Pope*. See HARDUINI *Concilia*, tom. vi. part I. p. 1304, and the various writers of Ecclesiastical History. BARONIUS, LUPUS *, and other historians, who have signalized, upon all occasions, their vehement attachment to the Roman pontiffs, maintain, that these *Dictates* were drawn up by GREGORY VII, and proposed as laws in a certain council; and hence the *Protestant* writers have ventured to attribute them to HILDEBRAND. But the learned JOHN LAUNOY, NATALIS ALEXANDER, ANTONY † and FRANCIS PAGI ‡, ELIAS DU PIN, and other authors of note, affirm in the most positive manner that these *sentences*, or *dictates*, were a downright forgery imposed upon the world under the name of GREGORY, by some perfidious impostor, who proposed thereby to flatter the Roman pontiffs in their ambitious pretensions. As a proof of this assertion, they observe, that while some of these *sentences* express indeed in a lively manner the ambitious spirit of GREGORY, there are others which appear entirely opposite to the sentiments of that pontif, as they are delivered in several parts of his *Epistles*. The French writers have important reasons (which it is not necessary to mention here) for affirming that no Roman pontif ever presumed to speak of the papal power and jurisdiction in such arrogant terms as are here put into the mouth of GREGORY. It may be easily granted, that these *sentences*, in their present form, are not the composition of this famous pontif; for many of them are obscure, and they are all thrown together without the least order, method, or connexion; and it is not to be imagined, that a man of such genius, as GREGORY discovered, would have neglected either perspicuity or precision in describing the authority, and fixing, what he looked upon to be, the rights and privileges of the bishops of Rome. But, notwithstanding all this, if we consider the matter of these *sentences*, we shall be entirely persuaded that they belong originally to HILDEBRAND, since we find the greatest part of them repeated word for word in several places in his *Epistles*, and since such of them, as appear inconsistent with some passages in these epistles, are not so in reality, but may be easily explained in perfect conformity with what they are said to contradict. The most probable account of the matter seems to be this: That some mean author extracted these sentences, partly from the epistles of GREGORY that are yet extant, partly from those that have perished in the ruins of time, and published them in the form in which they now appear, without judgment or method.

* LUPUS, in his *Notæ et Dissertationes in Concilia*, tom. vi. opp. p. 164. has given us an ample commentary on the *Dictates of HILDEBRAND*, which he looks upon as both authentic and sacred.

† See ANTON. PAGI *Critica in Baronium*.

‡ See FRANC. PAGI *Breviar. Pontif. Roman.* tom. ii. p. 473.

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

greedy pontif. It is, however, to be observed, that the weight of this tyrannic usurpation did not fall equally upon all the European provinces; several of these provinces preserved some remains of their ancient liberty and independence, in the possession of which a variety of circumstances happily concurred to maintain them.

But, as we insinuated above, the views of HILDEBRAND were not confined to the erection of an absolute and universal monarchy in the church; they aimed also at the establishment of a civil monarchy equally extensive and despotic; and this aspiring pontif, after having drawn up a system of ecclesiastical canons for the government of the church, would have introduced also a new code of political laws, had he been permitted to execute the plan he had formed. His purpose was to engage in the bonds of fidelity and allegiance to St. PETER, *i. e.* to the Roman pontifs, all the kings and princes of the earth, and to establish at *Rome* an annual assembly of bishops, by whom the contests that might arise between kingdoms or sovereign states were to be decided, the rights and pretensions of princes to be examined, and the fate of nations and empires to be determined. This ambitious project met, however, with the warmest opposition, particularly from the vigilance and resolution of the emperors, and also from the British and French monarchs [x].

That HILDEBRAND laid this audacious plan is undoubtedly evident, both from his own epistles and also from other authentic records of antiquity. The nature of the oath which he drew up for the king or emperor of the Romans, from whom he demanded a profession of subjection and allegiance [y], shews abundantly the arrogance of his pretensions. But his conduct towards the kingdom

[x] The long note [g] in the original, which contains the ambitious exploits of HILDEBRAND, is inserted in the following paragraph, except the citations, which are thrown into notes.

[y] See the ninth book of his Epistles, *Epist.* iii. the form of the oath runs thus: *Ab hac hora et deinceps fidelis ero per rectam fidem B. Petro Apostolo, ejusque vicario Papæ Gregorio . . . et quodcunque ipse Papa præceperit sub his videlicet verbis: PER VERAM OBEDIENTIAM, fideliter, sicut oportet Christianum, observabo. Et eo die, quando eum primitus videro, fideliter per manus meas miles Sancti Petri et ILLIUS efficiat.* What is this else than a formal oath of allegiance?

of *France* is worthy of particular notice. It is well known, that whatever dignity and dominion the popes enjoyed was originally derived from the kingdom of *France*, or, which is the same thing, from the princes of that nation; and yet HILDEBRAND, or (as we shall hereafter entitle him) GREGORY VII, pretended that the kingdom of *France* was tributary to the see of *Rome*, and commanded his legates to demand yearly, in the most solemn manner, the payment of that tribute [z]; their demands, however, were treated with contempt, and the tribute was never either acknowledged or offered. Nothing can be more insolent than the language in which GREGORY addressed himself to PHILIP I, king of *France*, to whom he recommends an humble and obliging carriage, from this consideration that both his kingdom and his soul were under the dominion of St. PETER (*i. e.* his vicar the Roman pontif) who had the power to BIND and to LOOSE him, both in heaven and upon earth [a]. Nothing escaped the all-grasping ambition of GREGORY; he pretended that Saxony was a feudal tenure held in subjection to the see of *Rome*, to which it had been formerly yielded by CHARLEMAGNE as a pious offering to St. PETER. He extended also his pretensions to the kingdom of *Spain*, maintaining, in one of his letters [b], that it was the property of the apostolic see from the earliest times of the church, yet acknowledging in another [c], that the transaction by which the successors of St. PETER had acquired this property had been lost among other ancient records. His claims, however, were more respected in *Spain* than they had been in *France*; for it is proved most evidently by authentic records, that the king of *Arragon*, and BERNHARD, count of *Besalu*,

[z] *Epist. lib. viii. ep. xxiii. in HARDUIN's Concilia, tom. vi. p. 1476. Dicendum autem est omnibus Gallis et per veram obedientiam precipiendum, ut unaquæque domus saltem unum denarium annuatim solvat Beato Petro, si eum recognoscant patrem et pastorem suum more antiquo.* Every one knows that the demand that was made with the form, *per veram obedientiam*, was supposed to oblige indispensably.

[a] *Lib. vii. Epist. xx. in HARDUIN's Concilia, tom. vi. p. 1468. Maxime enitere ut B. Petrum, in cujus potestate est regnum tuum et anima tua, qui te potest in cælo et in terra ligare et absolvere, tibi facias debitorem.*

[b] *Lib. x. ep. vii. Regnum Hispania ab antiquo proprii juris S. Petri fuisse et soli Apostolicæ sedi ex æquo pertinere.*

[c] *Lib. x. epist. xxviii.*

C E N T.
XI.
PART II.

gave a favourable answer to the demands of GREGORY, and paid him regularly an annual tribute [d] ; and their example was followed by other Spanish princes, as we could shew, were it necessary, by a variety of arguments. The despotic views of this lordly pontif were attended with less success in *England*, than in any other country. WILLIAM the Conqueror was a prince of great spirit and resolution, extremely jealous of his rights, and tenacious of the prerogatives he enjoyed as a sovereign and independent monarch ; and accordingly, when GREGORY wrote him a letter demanding the arrears of the *Peter-pence* [e], and at the same time summoning him to do homage for the kingdom of *England* as a fief of the apostolic see, WILLIAM granted the former, but refused the latter [f] with a noble obstinacy, declaring that he held his kingdom of God only and his own sword. Obligated to yield to the obstinacy of the English monarch, whose name struck terror into the boldest hearts, the restless pontif addressed his imperious mandates where he imagined they would be received with more facility. He wrote circular letters to all the most powerful German princes [g], to GEUSA

[d] See PETRUS DE MARCA, *Histoire de Bearn*, lib. iv. p. 331, 332.

[e] *Peter-pence* (so called from its being collected on the festival of *St. Peter in Vinculis*) was an ancient tax of a penny on each house, first granted, in the year 725, by INA, king of the West-Saxons, for the establishment and support of an English college at *Rome*, and afterwards extended, in the year 794, by OFFA, over all *Mercia* and *East-Anglia*. In process of time, it became a standing and general tax throughout all *England*, and, though it was for some time applied to the support of the English college according to its original design, the popes found means to appropriate it to themselves. It was confirmed by the laws of CANUTE, EDWARD the confessor, WILLIAM the Conqueror, &c. and was never totally abolished till the reign of HENRY VIII.

[f] The letter of WILLIAM is extant in the *Miscellanea* of BALUZIUS, tom. vii. p. 127. as also in COLLIER's *Ecclesiastical History*, in the *Collection of Records*, at the end of the first volume, p. 713. No. 12. *Hubertus legatus tuus* (says the resolute monarch to the audacious pontif) *admonuit me, quatenus tibi et successoribus tuis fidelitatem facerem, et de pecunia, quam antecessores mei ad ecclesiam mittere solebant, melius cogitarem. Unum admisi, alterum non admisi. FIDELITATEM FACERE, NOLUI, NEC VOLO, &c.*

[g] See in HARDUIN's *Concilia*, his famous letter (lib. ix. epist. iii.) to the bishop of *Padua*, exhorting him to engage WELPHO, duke of *Bavaria*, and other German princes, to submit themselves

king

king of *Hungary* [b], and SUENO, or SWEIN, king of *Denmark* [i], soliciting them to make a solemn grant of their kingdoms and territories to the prince of the apostles, and to hold them under the jurisdiction of his vicar at *Rome*, as fiefs of the apostolic see. What success attended his demands upon these princes, we cannot say ; but certain it is, that in several places his efforts were effectual, and his modest proposals were received with the utmost docility and zeal. The son of DEMETRIUS, king of the *Russians*, set out for *Rome*, in consequence of the pontif's letter [k], in order to obtain, as a gift from St. PETER by the hands of GREGORY, after professing his subjection and allegiance to the prince of the apostles, the kingdom which was to devolve to him upon the death of his father ; and his pious request was readily granted by the officious pope, who was extremely liberal of what did not belong to him. DEMETRIUS SUINIMER, duke of *Croatia* and *Dalmatia*, was raised to the rank and prerogatives of royalty by the same pontif in the year 1076, and solemnly proclaimed king by his legate at *Salona*, upon condition that he should pay an annual tribute of two hundred pieces of gold to St. PETER at every Easter festival [l]. This bold step was injurious to the authority of the emperors of *Constantinople*, who, before this time, comprehended the province of *Croatia* within the limits of their sovereignty. The kingdom of *Poland* became also the object of GREGORY's ambition, and a favourable occasion was offered for the execution of his iniquitous views ; for BASILAIUS II, having assassinated STANISLAUS bishop of *Cracow*, the pontif not only excommunicated him with all the circumstances of infamy that he could invent, but also pulled him from his throne, dissolved the oath of allegiance which his subjects had

and their dominions to the apostolic jurisdiction. *Admonere te volumus* (says the pontif) *Ducem Welphonem, ut fidelitatem B. Petro faciat . . . Illum enim totum in gremio Beati Petri collocare desideramus et ad ejus servitium specialiter provocare. Quam voluntatem si in eo, vel etiam in aliis potentibus viris amore B. Petri ductis cognoveris, ut perficiant elabora.*

[b] Lib. ii. ep. lxx.

[i] Lib. ii. ep. li.

[k] Lib. ii. ep. lxxiv.

[l] See DU MONT, *Corps Diplomatique*, tom. i. part I. n. 88. p. 53.—JO. LUCIUS, *De regno Dalmatiæ*, lib. ii. p. 85.

C E N T.
 XI.
 P A R T II.

taken, and, by an exprefs and imperious edict, prohibited the nobles and clergy of *Poland* from electing a new king without the consent of the Roman pontif [m]. Many more examples might be alledged of the phrenetic ambition of GREGORY, but those which have been already mentioned are sufficient to excite the indignation of every impartial reader. Had the success of that pontif been equal to the extent of his insolent views, all the kingdoms of *Europe* would have been this day tributary to the Roman see, and its princes the soldiers or vassals of St. PETER, in the person of his pretended vicar upon earth. But though his most important projects were ineffectual, yet many of his attempts were crowned with a favourable issue; for from the time of his pontificate the face of *Europe* underwent a considerable change, and the prerogatives of the emperors and other sovereign princes, were much diminished. It was, particularly, under the administration of GREGORY, that the emperors were deprived of the privilege of ratifying, by their consent, the election of the Roman pontif, a privilege of no small importance, and which as yet they have never recovered.

XI. The zeal and activity, which GREGORY employed in extending the jurisdiction of the Roman see, and enriching the patrimony of St. PETER, met, no where, with such remarkable success as in *Italy*. His intimate familiarity with MATHILDA, the daughter of BONIFACE duke of *Tuscany*, and the most powerful and opulent princes in that country (who found by experience that neither ambition nor grace had extinguished the tender passions in the heart of GREGORY) contributed much to this success; for he engaged that princess, after the death of her husband GODFREY, duke of *Lorraine*, and her mother BEATRIX, which happened in the years 1076 and 1077, to settle all her possessions in *Italy* and elsewhere upon the church of *Rome*, and thus to appoint St. PETER and his pretended vicar the heirs of her immense treasures. This rich donation was, indeed, considerably invalidated by the second marriage, which MATHILDA contracted, in the year 1089, with WELPH, or GUELPH, son of the duke of *Bavaria*, and that with the consent of the Roman pontif URBAN II.

[m] See DLUGOSI *Histor. Polon.* tom. i. p. 295.

She, however, renewed it in a solemn manner in the year 1102, about seven years after her separation from her second husband, by which she became again sole mistress of her vast possession [n]. But, notwithstanding this new act, the Roman pontifs did not remain in the peaceful possession of this splendid inheritance. It was warmly and powerfully disputed, first by the emperor HENRY V. and afterwards by several other princes; nor were the pontifs so successful in this contest as to preserve the whole inheritance, though, after various struggles and efforts, they remained in the possession of a considerable part of it, which they still enjoy [o].

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

[n] The life and exploits of this heroic princess (who was one of the strongest bulwarks of the Roman church against the power of the emperors, and the most tender and obedient of all the *spiritual* daughters of GREGORY VII) has been written by BENED. LUCHINUS, DOMIN. MELLINUS, FELIX CONTELORIUS, JULIUS DE PUTEO, but more amply by FRANCIS MARIA FLORENT. in his *Records concerning the countess Mathilda*, written in Italian, and BENED. BACHINIUS, in his *Historia Monasterii Podalironensis*. The famous LEIBNITZ, in his *Scriptores Brunsvic.* tom. i. p. 629. and LUD. ANT. MURATORI, in his *Scriptores rerum Italic.* tom. v. p. 335. have published, with annotations, the ancient histories of the life of MATHILDA, composed by DONIZO, and another writer whose name is unknown, together with the copy of the second act of cession by which that princess confirmed her former grant to the church of Rome. We may add here, that nothing relating to this extraordinary woman is more worthy of perusal than the accounts that we find of her, and her second husband, in the *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. i. lib. iii. cap. v. p. 444. et tom. ii. lib. vi. p. 303.

[o] Many learned men conclude from the very Act by which this donation was confirmed to the see of Rome, that MATHILDA comprehended in this donation only her *allodial* possessions, and not the territories which she held as *fiefs of the empire*, such as the marquissate of Tuscany, and the dutchy of Spoleto. For the words of the act run thus: *Ego Mathildis . . . dedi et obtuli ecclesiæ S. Petri . . . omnia mea bona JURE PROPRIETARIO, tam quæ tunc habueram, quam ea, quæ in antea acquisitura eram, sive jure successionis, sive alio quocunque jure ad me pertineant.* See the *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. i. lib. iii. p. 443. But it is much to be questioned, whether this distinction is so evident, as is pretended. For the words JURE PROPRIETARIO, from which it is inferred, that MATHILDA disposed of only her *allodial* possessions in favour of St. PETER, don't, in my opinion, relate to the possessions of the testatrix, but to the nature of the gift, and must be interpreted in conjunction with the preceding verbs, *dedi et obtuli*. For the princess does not say, *dedi omnia bona, quæ JURE PROPRIETARIO possideo et habeo*, i. e. *I have granted that part of my property which I hold by a supreme and independent right*, in which

XII. The

CENT.

XI.

PART II.

The decrees
of Gregory
VII.

XII. The plan that GREGORY had formed for raising the church above all human authority, to a state of perfect supremacy and independence, had many kinds of opposition to encounter, but none more unsurmountable than that which arose from the two reigning vices of *concubinage* and *simony*, that had infected the whole body of the European clergy. The Roman pontifs, from the time of STEPHEN IX, had combated, with zeal and vehemence, these monstrous vices [p], but without success, as they

case the opinion of the learned men abovementioned would be well founded, but she says, *dedi omnia bona mea ecclesie JURE PROPRIETARIO*, i. e. *my will is, that the church shall possess as its own property the inheritance I have left it.* Besides, the following words manifestly shew, that the opinion of these learned men is destitute of all foundation; since MATHILDA could not possibly add, *sive jure successionis, sive ALIO QUOCUNQUE JURE ad me pertineant*, i. e. *I grant all my possessions under whatever title I enjoy them, whether by right of succession, or by ANY OTHER RIGHT*, &c. had she designed to confine her donation to her *allodial* possessions. Certain it is, that in this ample grant she excepts no particular part of her property, but evidently comprehends in it her whole substance. If it be objected to this, that the Roman pontifs never affirmed that the *fiefs of the empire*, which MATHILDA possessed, were comprehended in this grant to their church, and that they only claimed her *allodial* and independent possessions; I answer, by questioning the fact, since many circumstances concur to prove, that these pontifs claimed the whole substance of MATHILDA, all her possessions without exception, as their undoubted right. But suppose for a moment, that the case was otherwise, and that the Roman church had never made such an universal claim, this would, by no means, invalidate the opinion I here maintain; since the question, under consideration, is not, how far the Roman pontifs may have moderated their pretensions to the territories of MATHILDA, but what is the true and genuine sense of the words in which her donation is expressed.

[p] *Monstrous vices* we may justly call them. For though it be true, that in the methods GREGORY took to extirpate these vices, he violated not only the laws of religion, but also the dictates of natural equity and justice, and, under the mask of a pious zeal, committed the most crying and abominable enormities; yet it is certain, on the other hand, that these vices produced the most unhappy effects both in church and state, and that the suppression of them was now become absolutely necessary. There were indeed, among the clergy, several men of piety and virtue, who lived in the bonds of wedlock, and these GREGORY ought to have spared. But there was also a prodigious number of ecclesiastics throughout *Europe*, not only of priests and canons, but also of monks, who lived in the bonds of a criminal love, kept, under the title of wives, mistresses which they dismissed, at pleasure, to enjoy the sweets of a licentious variety, and who not only spent, in the most profuse and scandalous manner, the re-

were

were become too inveterate and too universal to be extirpated without the greatest difficulty and the most extraordinary efforts. Accordingly GREGORY, in the year 1074, which was the second of his pontificate, exerted himself with much more vigour than his predecessors had done in opposition to the vices already mentioned. For this purpose he assembled a council at *Rome*, in which all the laws of the former pontiffs against *simony* were renewed and confirmed, and the buying or selling ecclesiastical benefices prohibited in the strictest and severest manner.

venues and treasures of the churches and convents to which they belonged, but even distributed a great part of them among their bastards. As to the vice of *simony*, its universal extent and its pernicious fruits appear evidently from those records, which the Benedictine monks have published in several places of their *Gallia Christiana*, not to mention a multitude of other ancient papers to the same purpose. One or two examples will be sufficient to give the reader an idea of this matter. We find in the first volume of the admirable work now mentioned (in the *Append. Document. p. 5.*) a public act, by which BERNARD a viscount, and FROTIERUS bishop of *Alby*, grant, or rather sell, openly to BERNARD AIMARD and his son the bishopric of *Alby*, reserving to themselves a considerable part of its revenues. This act is followed by another, in which count PONTIUS bequeaths to his wife the same bishopric of *Alby* in the following terms: *Ego Pontius dono tibi dilectæ sponse meæ episcopatum Albiensem—cum ipsa ecclesia et cum omni adjacentia sua—et medietatem de episcopatu Nemauso—et medietatem de abbazia St. Ægidii—post obitum tuum remaneat ipsius alodis ad infantes qui de me erunt creati.* In the second volume of the same learned work (in the *Append. Document. p. 173.*) there is a letter of the clergy of *Limoges*, beseeching WILLIAM, count of *Aquitain*, not to sell the bishopric, but to give them a pastor, and not a devourer of the flock. *Rogamus tuam pietatem, ne propter mundiale lucrum vendas Sti. Stephani locum, quia si tu vendis episcopalia, ipse nostra manducabit communia—Mitte nobis ovium custodem, non devorantem.* ADEMAR, viscount of *Limoges*, laments (tom. ii. p. 179.) that he himself had formerly made traffic of the cure of souls by selling benefices to simoniacal abbots. The barefaced impudence of the sacerdotal orders, in buying and selling benefices, exceeded all measure, and almost all credibility. And they carried matters so far as to justify that abominable traffic, as may be seen in a remarkable passage in the *Apologeticum* of ABBO, which is added, by PITHOU, to the *Codex Can. Ecclesiæ Romanæ*; this passage, which deserves to be quoted, is as follows: *Nil pæne ad ecclesiam pertinere videtur, quod ad pretium non largiatur, scilicet episcopatus, presbyteratus, diaconatus, et aliqui minores gradus, archidiaconatus quoque, decania, præpositura, thesauri custodia, baptisterium—et hujusmodi negociatores subdola responsione solent astruere, non se emere benedictionem, quâ percipitur gratia spiritus sancti, sed res ecclesiarum vel possessiones episcopi.* An acute distinction truly!

It

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

It was also decreed in the same council, that the sacerdotal orders should abstain from marriage; and that such of them as had already wives, or concubines, should immediately dismiss them, or quit the priestly office. These decrees were accompanied with circular letters wrote by the pontif to all the European bishops, enjoining the strictest obedience to the decisions of this solemn council, under the severest penalties. GREGORY did not stop here, but sent ambassadors into *Germany* to HENRY IV, king of the Romans, in order to engage that prince to summon a council for the trial and punishment of such ecclesiastics, as had been hitherto guilty of simoniacal practices.

The severe proceedings of the pontif against concubinage produce much trouble.

XIII. These decrees, which were in part equitable and just, and which were, in every respect, conformable with the notions of religion that prevailed in this age, were looked upon by the people as high salutary, since they rendered a free election, and not a mercenary purchase, the way to ecclesiastical promotion, and obliged the priests to abstain from marriage, which was absurdly considered as inconsistent with the sanctity of their office. Yet both these decrees were attended with the most deplorable tumults and dissensions, and were fruitful, in their consequences, of innumerable calamities. No sooner was the law concerning the *Celibacy of the Clergy* published, than the priests, in the several provinces of *Europe*, who lived in the bonds of marriage with lawful wives, or of lasciviousness with hired concubines [q], complained loudly of the

[q] All the historians, who give any accounts of this century, mention the tumults excited by such priests, as were resolved to continue with their wives or concubines. For an account of the seditions which arose in *Germany* upon this occasion, see SIGONIUS *De regno Italiae*, lib. ix. p. 557. tom. ii. as also TENGNAGEL's *Collectio Veter. Monument.* p. 45. 47. 54. Those that the priests excited in *England* are mentioned by M. PARIS, in his *Histor. Major*, lib. i. p. 7. The tumults occasioned by the same reason in the Belgic and Gallic provinces, are described in the *Epistola Clericorum Cameracensium ad Remenses pro uxoribus suis*, published in MABILLON's *Annal. Benedictin.* tom. v. p. 634. and in the *Epistola Norwimensium Clericorum ad Cameracenses*, published in MABILLON's *Museum Italicum*, tom. i. p. 128. Great was the flame which the laws of GREGORY excited in *Italy*, and particularly in the province of *Milan*, of which we have an ample relation given by ARNULPH and LANDULPH, two Milanese historians, whose works are published, with annota-

severity

severity of this council, and excited the most dreadful tumults in the greatest part of the European provinces. Many of these ecclesiastics, especially the Milanese priests, chose rather to abandon their spiritual dignities than their sensual pleasures, and to quit their benefices that they might cleave to their wives. They went still farther: for they separated themselves entirely from the church of *Rome*, and branded with the infamous name of *Paterini* [r], i. e. Manichæans, the pontif and his adherents, who condemned so unjustly the conduct of such priests as entered into the bonds of a lawful and virtuous wedlock. The pro-

tions, by MURATORI, in his *Scriptores rerum Italicarum*, tom. iv. p. 36. Both these historians maintain, against GREGORY and his successors, the cause of the injured priests, and the lawfulness of their marriages.

[r] *Paterinus* is one of the names by which the Paulicians or Manichæans (who came during this century from *Bulgaria* into *Italy*, and were also known by the title of *Cathari* or *Pure*) were distinguished among the Italians. But in process of time the term *Paterinus* became a common name for all kinds of heretics, as we might shew by many examples taken from the writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. There are various opinions concerning the origin of this word, the most probable of which is that which supposes it derived from a certain place called *Pataria*, in which the heretics held their assemblies; and it is well known, that a part of the city of *Milan* is, to this very day, called *Pataria*, or *Contrada de Patarri*. See *Annotat. ad Arnulphum Mediolanens.* in MURATORI's *Scriptores rerum Italicar.* tom. 4. p. 39. see also SAXIUS *ad Sigonium de Regno Italiae*, lib. ix. p. 536. tom. ii. opp. *Sigonii*. An opinion (of which, if I am not mistaken, SIGONIUS was the author) prevailed, that the name in question was given to the Milanese priests, who separated from the church of *Rome*, and retained their wives in opposition to the laws of the pontifs. But this opinion is without foundation; and it appears evidently from the testimony of ARNULPH and other historians, that it was not the married priests, but the faction of the pontifs, who condemned their conjugal bonds, that were branded with the opprobrious name of *Patarini*. See ARNULPH. lib. iii. c. x.—ANTON. PAGI *Crit. in Ann. Bar.* t. iii. ad A. 1057. § iii.—LUD. ANT. MURATORI *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 82. who have demonstrated this in the most ample, learned, and satisfactory manner. Nor need we, indeed, look any where else for the origin of this word. It is abundantly known, that the Manichæans, and their brethren the Paulicians, were extremely averse to marriage, which they looked upon as an institution invented by the *evil principle*; they, of consequence, who considered the marriages of the clergy as lawful, employed the ignominious name of *Paterini*, to shew that the pontifs, who prohibited these marriages, were followers of the odious doctrine of the Manichæans.

ceedings

C E N T.
 XL.
 PART II.

ceedings of GREGORY appeared to the wiser part even of those who approved of the celibacy of the clergy, unjust and criminal in two respects : First, in that his severity fell indiscriminately and with equal fury upon the virtuous husband and the licentious rake ; that he dissolved, with a merciless hand, the chastest bonds of wedlock, and thus involved husbands and wives, with their tender offspring, in disgrace, perplexity, anguish, and want [s]. The second thing criminal in the measures taken by this pontif was, that instead of chastising the married priests with wisdom and moderation, and according to the laws of ecclesiastical discipline, whose nature is wholly spiritual, he gave them over to the civil magistrate, to be punished as disobedient and unworthy subjects, with the loss of their substance, and with the most shocking marks of undeserved infamy and disgrace [t].

[s] We must always remember that the priests, to whom their wives or mistresses were much dearer than the laws of the pontifs, were not all of the same character ; nor were such of them as might be justly esteemed criminal, all criminal in the same degree. The better sort of these ecclesiastics (among which we may count the Belgic and Milanese clergy) desired nothing more than to live after the manner of the Greeks, maintaining that it was lawful for a priest, before his consecration, to marry one virgin, though a plurality of wives was justly prohibited ; and they grounded this their opinion upon the authority of St. AMBROSE. See JO. PETRI PURICELLI *Dissertatio utrum S. Ambrosius clero suo Mediolan. permisit, ut virgini semel nubere possent*, republished by MURATORI, in his *Scriptores Italic.* tom. iv. p. 123. GREGORY and his successors ought to have dealt more gently with this kind of ecclesiastics (as the warmest admirers of the pontifs acknowledge) than with those priests, who were either the patrons of concubinage, or who pretended to justify their espousing a plurality of wives. It was also unjust to treat, in the same manner, the monks, who, by the nature of their profession and vows, were necessarily excluded from the nuptial state ; and the priests, who could not bear the thoughts of being torn from the chaste partners of their bed, whom they had espoused with virtuous sentiments and upright intentions, nor from the tender offspring which were the fruit of virtuous love.

[t] THEODORICUS, *Verdun. Epistola ad Gregorium VII, in Martene Thesauro Anecdotorum*, tom. i. p. 218.—*Faciem meam in eo vel maxime confusione perfundunt, quod legem de Clericorum Incontinentia PER LAICORUM INSANIAS cohibenda unquam susceperim.*—*Nec putetis eos qui ita sentiunt . . . ecclesiasticorum graduum incontinentiam talibus defensionibus fovere velle. Honestam conversationem in desiderio habent, nec aliter, quam oportet, ECCLESIASTICÆ ULTIONIS CENSURAM intentari gaudent.*

XIV. This

XIV. This vehement contest excited great tumults and divisions, which, however, were gradually calmed through length of time, and also by the perseverance of the obstinate pontif; nor did any of the European kings and princes concern themselves so much about the marriages of the clergy as to maintain their cause, and thereby to prolong the controversy. But the troubles that arose from the law that regarded the extirpation of *simony* were not so easily appeased; the tumults it occasioned grew greater from day to day; the methods of reconciliation more difficult; and it involved both state and church during several years in the deepest calamities and in the most complicated scenes of confusion and distress [u].

C E N T.
XI.

P A R T II.

The dispute concerning investitures occasioned by the laws against simony.

[u] We have extant a great number both of ancient and modern writers, who have related the circumstances of this dispute concerning *investitures*, which was begun by GREGORY VII, was carried on by him and his successors on the one side, and the emperors HENRY IV and V on the other, and became a source of innumerable calamities to the greatest part of *Europe*. But few or none of these writers have treated this weighty subject with an entire impartiality. They all plead either the cause of the pontifs, or that of the emperors, and decide the controversy, not by the laws then in being (which ought, no doubt, to be principally consulted) nor by the opinions that generally prevailed at the time of this contest, but by laws of their own invention, and by the opinions of modern times. The famous GRETSEK, in his *Apologia pro Gregorio VII*, which is published in the sixth volume of his works, and also separately, has collected the principal of the ancient writers who maintain the cause of the pontif: in opposition to whom, they who defended the cause of HENRY IV, are collected by MELCHIOR GOLDASTUS, in his *Replicatio contra Gretserum et Apologia pro Henrico IV*. Hanov. 1611, 4to. Among the modern writers who have treated this subject, we may count the *Centuriatores Magdeburgenses*, BARONIUS, the German and Italian historians, and those who have wrote the life of the famous MATHILDA. But, beside these, it will be highly proper to consult JO. SCHILTERUS, *De libertate Ecclesie Germanicæ*, lib. iv. p. 481.—CHRIST. THOMASII, *Historia contentions inter Imperium et Sacerdotium*—HEN. MEIBOMIUS, *Lib. de jure Investituræ Episcopalis*, tom. iii. *Scriptorum rer. Germanicar.*—JUST. CHR. DITHMARUS, *Historia Belli inter Imperium et Sacerdotium*, published at Francfort in 1741, in 8vo. and, above all, the famous Cardinal NORIS, who far surpasses in point of erudition those whom we have mentioned, and whose *Istoria delle Investiture della dignità Ecclesiastica*, which was published at Mantua, after his death, in the year 1741, is a most learned work, though it be imperfect and probably maimed, and also extremely partial in favour of the pontifs, which is not surprizing from the pen of a cardinal. See also JO. JAC. MASCOVII *Commentarii de rebus imperii Germanici sub Henrico IV et V*, published at Leipsick, in 4to. in the year 1749.

HENRY

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

HENRY IV received, indeed, graciously the legates of GREGORY, and applauded his zeal for the extirpation of *simony*; but neither this prince, nor the German bishops, would permit these legates to assemble a council in Germany, or to proceed judicially against those, who, in time past, had been chargeable with simoniacal practices. The pontif, exasperated at this restraint in the execution of his designs, called another council to meet at *Rome* in the year 1075, in which he pursued his adventurous project with greater impetuosity and vehemence than ever; for he not only excluded from the communion of the church several German and Italian bishops and certain favourites of HENRY, whose counsels that prince was said to make use of in the traffic of ecclesiastical dignities, but also pronounced, in a formal edict, *Anathema against whoever received the investiture of a bishopric or abbacy from the hands of a layman, as also against those by whom the investiture should be performed* [w]. This decree was every way proper to surprize the emperors, kings, and princes of *Europe*, who, in consequence of a prevailing custom, had the right of conferring the more important ecclesiastical dignities, and the government of monasteries and convents, of which they disposed, in a solemn manner, by the well-known ceremony of the *ring* and the *staff*, or *crozier*, which they presented to the candidate on whom their choice fell. This solemn investiture was the main support of that power of creating bishops and abbots, which the European princes claimed as their undoubted right, and the occasion of that corrupt commerce called *simony*, in consequence of which ecclesiastical promotion was impudently sold to the highest bidder; and hence the zeal and ardour of GREGORY to annul these investitures, that he might extirpate *simony* on the one hand, and diminish the power of princes in ecclesiastical matters on the other.

[w] ANT. PAGI *Critica in Baronium*, tom. iii. ad A. 1075.—HEN. NORIS, *Hist. Investiturarum*, p. 39.—CHRIST. LUPUS, *Scholia et Dissertation. ad Concilia*, tom. vi. opp. p. 39—44.

A short digression concerning INVESTITURES [x].

IT will not be improper to cast some illustrations upon the custom now mentioned of investing bishops and abbots in their respective dignities by the ceremony of the *ring* and *crozier*, since this custom has been ill understood by some, and but imperfectly explained by others. Even the learned Cardinal NORIS appears highly defective here; for though in his *History of Investitures* [y], there are many pertinent reflexions upon the reasons which engaged GREGORY to prohibit *investitures* altogether, yet that learned prelate does not seem to have had a complete notion of this important matter, since he omits in his history certain points that are necessary to the understanding it thoroughly. The *investiture* of bishops and abbots commenced, undoubtedly, at that period of time when the European emperors, kings, and princes made grants to the clergy of certain territories, lands, forests, castles, &c. According to the laws of those times (laws which still remain in force) none were considered as lawful possessors of the lands or tenements which they derived from the emperors or other princes, before they repaired to court, took the oath of allegiance to their respective sovereigns as the supreme proprietors, and received from their hands a solemn mark by which the property of their respective grants was transferred to them. Such was the manner in which the nobility, and those who had distinguished themselves by military exploits, were confirmed in the possessions which they owed to the liberality of their sovereigns. But the custom of *investing* the bishops and abbots with the *ring* and the *crozier*, which are the ensigns of the sacred function, is of a much more recent date, and was then first introduced, when the European emperors and princes, annulling the elections that were made in the church according to the ecclesiastical laws that had been from the earliest times established for that purpose, assumed to themselves the power of conferring on whom they pleased the bishoprics and abbeys that became vacant in their dominions, nay, even of selling them to the highest bidder. This power, then, being once usurped by the

[x] Here the translator has transposed the note [r] of the original into the text, under the form of a dissertation.

[y] Chapter iii. page 56.

kings and princes of *Europe*, they at first confirmed the bishops and abbots in their dignities and possessions, with the same forms and ceremonies that were used in investing the counts, knights, and others, in their feudal tenures, even by written contracts, and the ceremony of presenting them with a wand or bough [z]. And this custom of investing the clergy and the laity with the same ceremonies would have, undoubtedly, continued, had not the clergy, to whom the right of electing bishops and abbots originally belonged, eluded artfully the usurpation of the emperors and other princes by the following stratagem. When a bishop or abbot died, they who looked upon themselves as authorised to fill up the vacancy, elected immediately some one of their order in the place of the deceased, and were careful to have him consecrated without delay. The consecration being thus performed, the prince, who had proposed to himself the profit of selling the vacant benefice, or the pleasure of conferring it upon some of his favourites, was obliged to desist from his purpose, and to consent to the election, which the ceremony of consecration rendered irrevocable. Many examples of the success of this stratagem, which was practised both in chapters and monasteries, and which disappointed the liberality or avarice of several princes, might here be alledged; they abound in the records of the tenth century, to which we refer the curious reader. No sooner did the emperors and princes perceive this artful management, than they turned their attention to the properest means of rendering it ineffectual, and of preserving the valuable privilege they had usurped. For this purpose they ordered, that as soon as a bishop expired, his ring and crosier should be transmitted to the prince, to whose jurisdiction his diocese was subject. For it was by the solemn delivery of

[z] This appears from a passage in Cardinal HUMBERT's third Book, *Adversus Simoniacos*, which was composed before GREGORY had set on foot the dispute concerning *Investitures*, and which is published in MARTENE's *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 787. The passage is as follows: *Potestas secularis primo ambitiosis ecclesiasticarum dignitatum-vel possessionum cupidis favebat prece, dein minis, deinceps verbis concessivis: in quibus omnibus cernens sibi contradictorem neminem, nec qui moveret pennam, vel aperiret os et ganniret, ad majora progreditur, et jam sub nomine INVESTITURÆ DARE PRIMO TABELLAS vel QUALESCUMQUE PORRIGERE VIRGULAS, DEIN BACULOS.—Quod maximum nefas sic inolevit, ut id solum canonicum credatur, nec quæ sit ecclesiastica regula sciatur aut attendatur.*

the *ring* and *crozier* of the deceased to the new bishop that his election was irrevocably confirmed, and this ceremony was an essential part of his *consecration*; so that, when these two badges of the episcopal dignity were in the hands of the sovereign, the clergy could not *consecrate* the person whom their suffrages had appointed to fill the vacancy. Thus their stratagem was defeated; as every election that was not confirmed by the ceremony of consecration might be lawfully annulled and rejected; nor was the bishop qualified to exercise any of the episcopal functions before the performance of that important ceremony. As soon, therefore, as a bishop drew his last breath, the magistrate of the city in which he had resided, or the governor of the province, seized upon his *ring* and *crozier*, and sent them to court [a]. The emperor or prince conferred the vacant see upon the person whom he had chosen, by delivering to him these two badges of the episcopal office, after which the new bishop, thus invested by his sovereign, repaired to his metropolitan, to whom it belonged to perform the ceremony of consecration, and delivered to him the *ring* and *crozier* which he had received from his prince, that he might receive it again from his hands, and be thus doubly confirmed in his sacred function. It appears, therefore, from this account, that each new bishop and abbot received twice the *ring* and the *crozier*; once from the hands of the sovereign, and once from those of the metropolitan bishop, by whom they were consecrated [b].

[a] We see this fact confirmed by the following passage in EBBO's *Life of Otho, bishop of Bamberg*, lib. i. § 8, 9. in *Actis Sanctorum mensis Julii*, tom. i. p. 426. *Nec multo post annulus cum virgâ pastorali Bremensis episcopi ad aulam regiam translata est. Eo siquidem tempore ecclesia liberam electionem non habebat . . . sed cum quilibet antistes viam universæ carnis ingressus fuisset, mox capitanei civitatis illius annulum et virgam pastorem ad Palatium trans mittebant, sicque regia auctoritate, communicato cum aulicis consilio, orbata plebi idoneum constituebat præfulem . . . Post paucos vero dies rursus annulus et virga pastoralis Bambergensis episcopi Domino imperatori transmissa est. Quo audito, multi nobiles—ad aulam regiam confluebant, qui alteram harum prece vel pretio sibi comparare tentabant.*

[b] This appears from a variety of ancient records. See particularly HUMBERT, lib. iii. *contra Simoniacos*, cap. vi. in MARTENE's *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 779. in which we find the following passage: *Sic encæniatus* (i. e. the bishops invested by the emperor) *violenter invadit clerum, plebem et ordinem prius dominaturus, quam ab eis cognoscatur, quæatur, petatur. Sic metropolitanum aggreditur, non ab eo judicandus, sed ipsum judicaturus.*—*Quid enim sibi jam*

CENT.
XI.
PART II.

It is highly uncertain by what prince this custom of creating the bishops by the ceremonies of the *ring* and *crozier* was first introduced. If we may believe ADAM of *Bremen* [c], this privilege was exercised by LEWIS the Meek, who, in the ninth century, granted to the new bishops the use and possession of the episcopal revenues, and confirmed this grant by the ceremony now under consideration. But the accuracy of this historian is liable to suspicion; and it is extremely probable that he attributed to the transactions of ancient times the same form that accompanied similar transactions in the eleventh century in which he lived. For it is certain, that in the ninth century the greatest part of the European princes made no opposition to the right of electing the bishops, which was both claimed and exercised by the clergy and the people, and, of consequence, there was then no occasion for the investiture mentioned by ADAM of *Bremen* [d]. We therefore chuse to adopt the supposition of Cardinal HUMBERT [e], who places the commencement of the custom now under consideration in the reign of OTHO the Great; for though this opinion has not the approbation of LEWIS THOMASSIN and NATALIS ALEXANDER, yet these learned men, in their deep researches into the origin of investitures [f], have advanced nothing sufficient to prove it erroneous. We learn also from HUMBERT [g], that the emperor HENRY III, the son of CONRAD II, was desirous of abrogating these *investitures*, though a variety of circumstances concurred to prevent the execution of

pertinet aut prodest baculum et annulum, quos portat REDDERE? Numquid quia laica persona dati sunt? Cur redditur quod habetur, nisi ut aut denuo res ecclesiastica sub hac specie jussionis vel donationis vendatur, aut certe ut præsumtio laicæ ordinationis pallietur colore et velamento quodam disciplinæ clericalis.

[c] In his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. i. cap. xxxii. p. 10. xxxix. p. 12. published in the *Scriptores Septentrionales* of LINDENBROGIUS.

[d] Add to this the refutation of ADAM of *Bremen*, by DANIEL PAPEBROCH, in the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. i. Febr. p. 557.

[e] HUMBERT, libr. iii. *contra Simoniacos*, cap. vii. p. 780. et cap. xi. p. 787.

[f] See LUDOV. THOMASSINI *Disciplina Eccles. circa Benef.* tom. ii. lib. ii. p. 434. and NATAL. ALEXANDER, *Select. Histor. Eccl. Capit. Sæc. xi, xii. Diff. iv.* p. 725.

[g] L. c. cap. vii. p. 780.

his

his design ; but he represents HENRY I king of *France* in a different point of light, as a turbulent prince, who turned all things into confusion, and indulged himself beyond all measure in simoniacal practices, and loads him, of consequence, with the bitterest invectives.

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

In this method of creating bishops and abbots by presenting to them the *ring* and *crozier*, there were two things that gave particular offence to the Roman pontiffs. The first was, that by this the ancient right of election was totally changed, and the power of choosing the rulers of the church was usurped by the emperors and other sovereign princes, and was confined to them alone. This indeed was the most plausible reason of complaint, when we consider the religious notions of these times, which were, by no means, favourable to the conduct of the emperors in this matter. Another circumstance that grievously distressed the pretended vicars of St. PETER, was, to see the *ring* and *crozier*, the venerable badges of spiritual authority and ghostly distinction, delivered to the bishop elect by the profane hands of unsanctified laymen ; an abuse this, which they looked upon as little better than sacrilege. HUMBERT, who, as we already observed, wrote his book against simony before the contest between the emperor and GREGORY had commenced, complains [b] heavily of this supposed profanation, and shudders to think, that that *staff* which denotes the ghostly shepherd, and that *ring* which seals the mysteries of heaven [i], deposited in the bosoms of the episcopal order, should be polluted by the unhallowed touch of a civil magistrate ; and that emperors and princes, by presenting them to their favourites,

[b] See HUMBERT, lib. iii. *contra Simoniac.* cap. vi. p. 779. 795. his words are : *Quid ad laicas pertinet personas sacramenta ecclesiastica et pontificalem seu pastorem gratiam distribuere, camyros scilicet baculos et annulos, quibus præcipue perficitur, militat et innititur tota episcopalis consecratio ? Equidem in camyris baculis—designatur, quæ eis committitur cura pastoralis.—Porro annulus signaculum secretorum cælestium indicat, præmonens prædicatores, ut secretam Dei sapientiam cum apostolo diffignent.—Quicumque ergo his duobus aliquem initiant, procul dubio omnem pastorem auctoritatem hoc præsumendo sibi vendicant.*

[i] HUMBERT mistook the spiritual signification of this holy ring, which was the emblem of a nuptial bond between the bishop and his

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

should thereby usurp the prerogatives of the church, and exercise the pastoral authority and power. This complaint was entirely consistent, as we have already observed, with the opinions of the times in which it was made; for as the *ring* and the *crozier* were generally esteemed the marks and badges of pastoral power, and spiritual authority, so he who conferred these sacred badges was supposed to confer and communicate with them the ghostly authority of which they were the emblems.

All these things being duly considered, we shall immediately perceive what it was that rendered GREGORY VII so averse to the pretensions of the emperors, and so zealous in depriving them of the privilege they had assumed of investing the bishops with the ceremony of the *ring* and *crozier*. In the first council which he assembled at *Rome*, he made no attempt, indeed, against *investitures*, nor did he aim at any thing farther than the abolition of *simony*, and the restoration of the sacerdotal and monastic orders to their ancient right of electing their respective bishops and abbots. But when he afterwards came to know that the affair of *investitures* was inseparably connected with the pretensions of the emperors, and indeed supposed them empowered to dispose of the higher ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, he was then persuaded that *simony* could not be extirpated as long as *investitures* were in being; and therefore, to pluck up the evil by the root, he opposed the custom of *investitures* with the utmost vehemence. All this shews the true rise of the war that was carried on between the pontif and the emperor with such bitterness and fury.

And to understand still more clearly the merits of this cause it will be proper to observe, that it was not *investitures*, considered in themselves, that GREGORY opposed with such keenness and obstinacy, but that particular kind of *investitures*, which were in use at this time. He did not pretend to hinder the bishops from swearing allegiance to kings and emperors, nor even to become their *vassals*; and so far was he from prohibiting that kind of investiture that was performed by a verbal declaration or a written deed, that, on the contrary, he allowed the kings of *England* and *France* to *invest* in this manner, and probably consented to the use of the *scepter* in this ceremony, as did

did also after him CALLIXTUS II. But he could not bear the ceremony of *investiture* that was performed with the ensigns of the sacerdotal order, much less could he endure the performance of the ceremony before the solemn rite of consecration; but what rendered *investitures* most odious to this pontif was their destroying entirely the free elections of bishops and abbots. It is now time to resume the thread of our history.

CENT.
XI.
PART II.

XV. The severe law that had been enacted against *investitures*, by the influence and authority of GREGORY, made very little impression upon HENRY. He acknowledged, indeed, that in exposing ecclesiastical benefices to sale he had done amiss, and he promised amendment in that respect; but he remained inflexible against all attempts that were made to persuade him to resign his power of creating bishops and abbots, and the right of *investiture* which was intimately connected with this important privilege. Had this emperor been seconded by the German princes, he might have maintained this refusal with dignity and success, but this was far from being the case; a considerable number of these princes, and among others the states of *Saxony*, were the secret or declared enemies of HENRY; and this furnished GREGORY with a favourable opportunity of extending his authority and executing his ambitious projects. This opportunity was by no means neglected; the imperious pontif took occasion, from the discords that divided the empire, to insult and depress its chief; he sent, by his legates, an insolent message to the emperor at *Goslar*, ordering him to repair immediately to *Rome*, and clear himself, before the council that was to be assembled there, of the various crimes that were laid to his charge. The emperor, whose high spirit could not brook such arrogant treatment, was filled with the warmest indignation at the view of that insolent mandate, and, in the vehemence of his just resentment, assembled without delay a council of the German bishops at *Worms*, where GREGORY was charged with several flagitious practices, deposed from the pontificate, of which he was declared unworthy, and an order issued out for the election of a new pontif. GREGORY opposed violence to violence; for no sooner had he received, by the letters and ambassadors

History of
the war that
was kindled
about *investitures*.

C E N T.
 XI.
 P A R T II.

of HENRY, an account of the sentence that had been pronounced against him, than, in a raging fit of vindictive frenzy, he thundered his anathemas at the head of that prince, excluded him both from the communion of the church and from the throne of his ancestors, and impiously dissolved the oath of allegiance which his subjects had taken to him as their lawful sovereign. Thus war was declared on both sides, and the civil and ecclesiastical powers were divided into two great factions, of which one maintained the rights of the emperor, while the other seconded the ambitious views of the pontif. No terms are sufficient to express the complicated scenes of misery that arose from this deplorable schism.

XVI. At the entrance upon this war, the Swabian chiefs, with duke RODOLPH at their head, revolted against HENRY; and the Saxon princes, whose former quarrels with the emperor had been lately terminated by their defeat and submission [k], follow their example. These united powers, being solicited by the pope to elect a new emperor, in case HENRY persisted in his obstinate disobedience to the orders of the church, met at *Tribur* in the year 1076, to take counsel together concerning a matter of such high importance. The result of their deliberations was far from being favourable to the emperor; for they agreed, that the determination of the controversy between him and them should be referred to the Roman pontif, who was to be invited for that purpose to a congress at *Augsburg* the year following, and that, in the mean time, HENRY should be suspended from his royal dignity, and live in the obscurity of a private station; to which rigorous conditions they also added, that he was to forfeit his kingdom, if, within the space of a year, he was not restored to the bosom of the church, and delivered from the anathema that lay upon his head. When things were come to this desperate extremity, and the faction, which was formed against this unfortunate prince, grew more formidable from day to day, his friends advised him to go into

✍ [k] This same RODOLPH had, the year before this revolt, vanquished the Saxons, and obliged them to submit to the emperor. Besides, the Swabian and Saxon chiefs, the dukes of *Bavaria* and *Carinthia*, the bishops of *Wurtzburg* and *Worms*, and several other eminent personages were concerned in this revolt.

Italy, and implore in person the clemency of the pontif. The emperor yielded to this ignominious counsel, without, however, obtaining from his voyage the advantages he expected. He passed the *Alps* amidst the rigour of a severe winter, arrived, in the month of *February* 1077, at the fortress of *Canusium*, where the *sanctimonious* pontif resided at that time with the young MATHILDA, countess of *Tuscany*, the most powerful patroness of the church, and the most tender and affectionate of all the spiritual daughters of GREGORY. Here the suppliant prince, unmindful of his dignity, stood, during three days, in the open air at the entrance of this fortress, with his feet bare, his head uncovered, and with no other raiment but a wretched piece of coarse woollen cloth thrown over his body to cover his nakedness. The fourth day he was admitted to the presence of the lordly pontif, who, with a good deal of difficulty, granted him the absolution he demanded; but, as to what regarded his restoration to the throne, he refused to determine that point before the approaching congress, at which he made HENRY promise to appear, forbidding him, at the same time, to assume, during this interval, the title of king, as also to wear the ornaments, or to exercise the functions, of royalty. This opprobrious convention excited, and that justly, the indignation of the princes and bishops of *Italy*, who threatened HENRY with all sorts of evils, on account of his base and pusillanimous conduct, and would, undoubtedly, have deposed him, had not he diminished their resentment by violating the convention which he had been forced to enter into with the imperious pontif, and resuming the title and other marks of royalty which he had been obliged to lay down. On the other hand, the confederate princes of *Swabia* and *Saxony* were no sooner informed of this unexpected change in the conduct of HENRY, than they assembled at *Forcheim* in the month of *March* A. D. 1077, and unanimously elected RODOLPH, duke of *Swabia*, emperor in his place [1].

[1] The ancient and modern writers of Italian and German history have given ample relations of all these events, though not all with the same fidelity and accuracy. In the brief account I have given of these events, I have followed the genuine sources, and those writers

C E N T.
 XI.
 PART II.

XVII. This rash step kindled a terrible flame in *Germany* and *Italy*, and involved, for a long time, those unhappy lands in the calamities of war. In *Italy* the Normans, who were masters of the lower parts of that country, and the armies of the powerful and valiant MATHILDA, maintained successfully the cause of GREGORY against the Lombards, who espoused the interests of HENRY; while this unfortunate prince, with all the forces he could assemble, carried on the war in *Germany* against RODOLPH and the confederate princes. GREGORY, considering the events of war as extremely doubtful, was at first afraid to declare for either side, and therefore observed, during a certain time, an appearance of neutrality; but, encouraged by the battle of *Fladenheim*, in which HENRY was defeated by the Saxons A. D. 1080, he excommunicated anew that vanquished prince, and sending a crown to the victor RODOLPH, declared him lawful king of the Germans. The injured emperor did not let this new insult pass unpunished; seconded by the suffrages of several of the Italian and German bishops, he deposed GREGORY a second time in a council which met at *Mentz*, and, in a synod that was soon after assembled at *Brixen*, in the province of *Tirol*, he raised to the pontificate GUIBERT, archbishop of *Ravenna*, who assumed the title of CLEMENT III, when he was consecrated at *Rome* A. D. 1084, four years after his election.

XVIII. This election was followed soon after by an event which gave an advantageous turn to the affairs of HENRY; this event was a bloody battle fought upon the banks of the river *Elster*, where RODOLPH received a mortal wound, of which he died at *Mersburg*. The emperor, having got rid of this formidable enemy, marched directly into *Italy* the following year (1081) with a design to crush GREGORY and his adherents, whose defeat he imagined would contribute effectually to put an end to the troubles in *Germany*. Accordingly he made several campaigns, with various success, against the valiant troops

whose testimonies are the most respectable and sure, such as SIGONIUS, PAGI, MURATORI, MASCOVIUS, NORIS, &c. who, though they differ in some minute circumstances, are yet agreed in those matters that are of the most importance.

of MATHILDA ; and, after having raised twice the siege of *Rome*, he resumed a third time that bold enterprize, and became, at length, master of the greatest part of that city in the year 1084. The first step that HENRY took after this success was to place GUIBERT in the papal chair, after which he received the imperial crown from the hands of the new pontif, was saluted emperor by the Roman people, and laid close siege to the castle of *St. Angelo*, whether his mortal enemy, GREGORY, had fled for safety. He was, however, forced to raise this siege, by the valour of ROBERT GUISCARD, duke of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, who brought GREGORY in triumph to *Rome* ; but, not thinking him safe there, conducted him afterwards to *Salernum*. In this place the famous pontif ended his days the year following, A. D. 1085, and left *Europe* involved in those calamities which were the fatal effects of his boundless ambition. He was certainly a man of extensive abilities, endowed with a most enterprizing genius, and an invincible firmness of mind ; but it must, at the same time, be acknowledged, that he was the most arrogant and audacious pontif that had hitherto sat in the papal chair. The Roman church worships him as a saint, though it is certain that he was never placed in that order by a regular canonization. PAUL V, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, appointed the twenty-fifth day of *May*, as a festival sacred to the memory of this pretended saint [m] ; but the emperors of *Germany*, the kings of *France*, and other European princes, have always opposed the celebration of this festival, and have thus effectually prevented its becoming universal. In our times, BENEDICT XIII, zealous to secure to GREGORY the faintly honours, occasioned a contest, whose issue was by no means favourable to his superstitious views [n].

XIX. The death of GREGORY neither restored peace to the church, nor tranquillity to the state ; the tumults

[m] See the *Acta Sanctor. Antwerp. ad d. xxv Maii*, and JO. MABILLON, *Acta Sanct. Ord. Benedict. Sac. vi. part II.*

[n] The reader will find an ample and curious account of this matter in a French book published in *Holland* in the year 1743, in three volumes, under the following title : *L'Avocat du Diable, ou Memoires Historiques et Critiques sur la vie et sur la Legende du Pape Gregoire VII.*

and

CENT.
XI.
PART II.

and divisions which he had excited, still continued, and they were augmented from day to day by the same passions to which they owed their origin. CLEMENT III, who was the emperor's pontif [o], was master of the city of Rome, and was acknowledged as pope by a great part of Italy. HENRY carried on the war in Germany against the confederate princes. The faction of GREGORY, supported by the Normans, chose for his successor, in the year 1086, DIDERICK, abbot of mount *Cassin*, who adopted the title of VICTOR III, and was consecrated in the church of *St. Peter*, in the year 1087, when that part of the city was recovered by the Normans from the dominion of CLEMENT. But this new pontif was of a character quite opposite to that of GREGORY; he was modest and timorous, and also of a mild and gentle disposition; and finding the papal chair beset with factions, and the city of Rome under the dominion of his competitor, he retired to his monastery, where soon after he ended his days in peace. But, before his abdication, he held a council at *Benevento*, where he confirmed and renewed the laws that GREGORY had enacted for the abolition of *investitures*.

XX. OTHO, bishop of *Ostia*, and monk of *Clugni*, was, by VICTOR's recommendation, chosen to succeed him. This new pontif was elected at *Terracina* in the year 1088, and assumed the name of URBAN II. Inferior to GREGORY in fortitude and resolution, he was, however, his equal in arrogance and pride, and surpassed him greatly in temerity and imprudence [p]. The commencement of his pontificate had a fair aspect, and success seemed to smile upon his undertakings; but upon the emperor's return in-

[o] The very learned JO. GOTTL. HORNIUS engaged himself, in the *Miscell. Lips.* tom. viii. p. 609. to publish the *Life of CLEMENT III*. This pontif died in the year 1100, as appears evidently from the *Chronicon Beneventanum*, published by MURATORI, in his *Antiq. Ital.* tom. i. p. 262. See also RUBEI *Historia Ravennat.* lib. v. p. 307.

[p] We find in the *Posthumous Works of MABILLON*, tom. iii. p. 1. the *Life of URBAN II*, composed by THEOD. RUINART, with much learning and industry, but with too little impartiality and fidelity, as we may naturally suppose even from the name of its author, since it is well known that no monkish writer dare attempt to paint the Roman pontifs in their true colours.—See also, for an account of URBAN, the *Hist. Liter. de la France*, tom. viii. p. 514.

to *Italy* in the year 1090, the face of affairs was totally changed ; victory crowned the arms of that prince, who, by redoubled efforts of valour, defeated, at length, GUELPH, duke of *Bavaria*, and the famous MATHILDA, who were the formidable heads of the papal faction. The abominable treachery of his son CONRAD, who, yielding to the seduction of his father's enemies, revolted against him, and, by the advice and assistance of URBAN and MATHILDA, usurped the kingdom of *Italy*, revived the drooping spirits of that faction, who hoped to see the laurels of the emperor blasted by this odious and unnatural rebellion. The consequences, however, of this event were less fatal to HENRY, than his enemies expected. In the mean time the troubles of *Italy*, still continued, nor could URBAN, with all his efforts, reduce the city of *Rome* under his lordly yoke. Finding all his ambitious measures disconcerted, he assembled a council at *Placentia* in the year 1095, where he confirmed the laws and the anathemas of GREGORY ; and afterwards undertook a journey into *France*, where he held the famous council of *Clermont*, and had the pleasure of kindling a new war against the infidel possessors of the holy land. In this council, instead of endeavouring to terminate the tumults and desolations that the dispute concerning *investitures* had already produced, this unworthy pontif added fuel to the flame, and so, exasperated matters by his imprudent and arrogant proceedings, as to render an accommodation between the contending parties more difficult than ever. GREGORY, notwithstanding his insolence and ambition, had never carried matters so far as to forbid the bishops and the rest of the clergy to take the oath of allegiance to their respective sovereigns. This rebellious prohibition was reserved for the audacious arrogance of URBAN, who published it as a law, in the council of *Clermont* [q]. After this noble ex-

[q] To the fifteenth canon of this council the following words were added : *Ne episcopus vel sacerdos regi vel alicui laico in manibus ligiam fidelitatem faciant*, i. e. It is enacted that no bishop or priest shall promise upon oath liege obedience to any king or any layman. They are entirely mistaken, who affirm that GREGORY prohibited the bishops from taking oaths of allegiance to their respective sovereigns, as Cardinal NORIS has sufficiently demonstrated in his *Istoria delle Investiture*, chap. x. p. 279.

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

The state of
the monastic
orders.

pedition, the restless pontif returned into *Italy*, where he made himself master of the castle of *St. Angelo*, and soon after ended his days in the year 1099; he was not long survived by his antagonist CLEMENT III, who died the following year, and thus left RAYNIER, a Benedictine monk, who was chosen successor to URBAN, and assumed the name of PASCHAL II, sole possessor of the papal chair at the conclusion of this century.

XXI. Among the eastern monks, in this century, there happened nothing worthy of being consigned to the records of history, while those of the west were concerned immediately in transactions of great consequence, and which deserve the attention of the curious reader. The western monks were remarkable for their attachment to the Roman pontifs; this connexion had been long formed, and it was originally owing to the avarice and violence of both bishops and princes, who, under various pretexts, were constantly encroaching upon the possession of the monks, and thus obliged them to seek for security against these invasions of their property in the protection of the popes. This protection was readily granted by the pontifs, who seized, with avidity, every occasion of enlarging their authority; and the monks, in return, engaged themselves to pay an annual tribute to their ghostly patrons. But in this century things were carried still farther; and the pontifs, more especially GREGORY VII, who was eagerly bent upon humbling the bishops, and transferring their privileges to the Roman see, enlarged their jurisdiction over the monks at the expence of the episcopal order. They advised and exhorted the monks to withdraw themselves and their possessions from the jurisdiction of the bishops, and to place both under the inspection and dominion of St. PETER [r]. Hence it happened that, from the time of GREGORY, the number of monasteries that had received *immunities*, both from the temporal authority of the sove-

[r] A specimen of this may be seen in the seventh Epistle of GREGORY, in which he reduces the monks of *Redon* under the jurisdiction of the Roman see by a mandate conceived in terms that had never been used before his time; see MARTENE *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. i. p. 204. We may add to this several like mandates of URBAN II and the succeeding pontifs, which are to be found in the collection now cited, and in others of that kind.

reign

reign and the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishops, were multiplied beyond measure throughout all *Europe*; and the rights of princes, together with the interests and privileges of the episcopal order, were violated and trampled upon, or rather ingrossed to swell the growing despotism of the all-grasping pontiffs [s].

XXII. All the writers of this age complain of the ignorance, licentiousness, frauds, debaucheries, dissensions, and enormities, that dishonoured by far the greatest part of the monastic orders, not to mention the numerous marks of their dissolution and impiety that have been handed down to our times [t]. However astonished we may be at such horrid irregularities among a set of men whose destination was so sacred, and whose profession was so austere, we shall still be more surprized to learn that this degenerate order, so far from losing ought of their influence and credit on account of their licentiousness, were promoted, on the contrary, to the highest ecclesiastical dignities, and beheld their opulence and authority increasing from day to day. Our surprize, indeed, will be diminished, when we consider the gross ignorance and superstition, and the unbounded licentiousness and corruption of manners, that reigned in this century among all ranks and orders of men [u]. Ignorance and corruption pervert the taste and judgment of even those who are not void of natural sagacity, and often prevent their being shocked

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

Their corruption.

[s] There is not, perhaps, in *Germany*, one single instance of this pernicious *immunity* before the time of GREGORY VII.

[t] See JO. LAUNOY, *Affert. in privileg. S. Medardi*, cap. xxvi. § vi. opp. tom. iii. part II. p. 499. and SIMON, *Biblioth. Critique*, tom. iii. cap. xxxii. p. 331.

[u] For an account of the astonishing corruption of this age, see BLONDEL, *De Formula, regnante Christo*, p. 14.—BOULAINVILLIERS, *De l'Origine et des Droits de la Noblesse* in MOLET's *Memoires de Literature et d'Histoire*, tom. ix. part I. p. 63. The corruption and violence that reigned with impunity in this horrid age gave occasion to the institutions of chivalry or knighthood, in consequence of which a certain set of equestrian heroes undertook the defence of the poor and feeble, and particularly of the fair-sex against the insults of powerful oppressors and ravishers. This order of knights errant was certainly of great use in these miserable times, when the majesty of laws and government was fallen into contempt, and they, who bore the title of sovereigns and magistrates, had neither resolution nor power to maintain their authority, or to perform the duties of their stations.

C E N T. XI.
P A R T II.

at the greatest inconsistencies. Amidst this general depravation of sentiments and conduct, amidst the flagitious crimes that were daily perpetrated, not only by the laity, but also by the various orders of the clergy, both *secular*, and *regular*, all such as respected the common rules of decency, or preserved in their external demeanour the least appearance of piety and virtue, were looked upon as saints, of the highest rank, and considered as the peculiar favourites of heaven. This circumstance was, no doubt, favourable to many of the monks, who were less profligate than the rest of their order, and might contribute more or less to support the credit of the whole body. Besides, it often happened, that princes, dukes, knights, and generals, whose days had been consumed in debauchery and crimes, and distinguished by nothing but the violent exploits of unbridled lust, cruelty, and avarice, felt at the approach of old age, or death, the inexpressible anguish of a wounded conscience, and the gloomy apprehensions and terrors it excites. In this dreadful condition, what was their resource? What were the means by which they hoped to disarm the uplifted hand of divine justice, and render the governor of the world propitious? They purchased at an enormous price the prayers of the monks to screen them from judgment, and devoted to God and to the saints a large portion of the fruits of their rapine, or entered themselves into the monastic order, and bequeathed their possessions to their new brethren. And thus it was that monkery received perpetually new accessions of opulence and credit.

The monks
of Clugni.

XXIII. The monks of *Clugni* in *France* surpassed all the other religious orders in the renown they had acquired, from a prevailing opinion of their eminent sanctity and virtue. Hence their discipline was universally respected, and hence also their rules were adopted by the founders of new monasteries, and the reformers of those that were in a state of decline. These famous monks arose, by degrees, to the very highest summit of worldly prosperity, by the presents which they received from all quarters; and their power and credit grew, with their opulence, to such a height, that, towards the conclusion of this century, they were formed into a separate society, which still subsists under the title of the order, or congregation of *Clug-*

ni [w]. And no sooner were they thus established than they extended their spiritual dominion on all sides, reducing, under their jurisdiction, all the monasteries which they had reformed by their counsels, and engaged to adopt their religious discipline. The famous HUGO, sixth abbot of *Clugni*, who was in high credit at the court of *Rome*, and had acquired the peculiar protection and esteem of several princes, laboured, with such success, in extending the power and jurisdiction of his order, that, before the end of this century, he saw himself at the head of five and thirty of the principal monasteries in *France*, besides a considerable number of smaller convents that acknowledged him as their chief. Many other religious societies, though they refused entering into this new order, and continued to choose their respective governors, yet shewed such respect for the abbot of *Clugni*, or the arch-abbot, as he styled himself, that they regarded him as their spiritual chief [x]. This enormous augmentation of opulence and authority was, however, fruitful of many evils; it increased the arrogance of these aspiring monks, and contributed much to the propagation of the several vices, that dishonoured the religious societies of this licentious and superstitious age. The monks of *Clugni* degenerated soon from their primitive sanctity, and, in a short space of time, were distinguished by nothing but the peculiarities of their discipline from the rest of the monastic orders.

XXIV. The example of these monks excited several pious men to erect particular monastic fraternities, or congregations, like that of *Clugni*; the consequence of which was, that the Benedictine order, which had been hitherto one great and universal body, was now divided into separate societies, which, though they were subject to one general rule, yet differed from each other in various circumstances both of their discipline and manner of living, and rendered

[w] For a particular account of the rapid and monstrous strides, which the order of *Clugni* made to opulence and dominion, see STEPH. BALUZIUS, *Miscellan.* tom. v. p. 343. and tom. vi. p. 436. as also MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. v. *passim*.

[x] MABILLON, *Præfat. ad Sæc. v. Actor. SS. Ord. Bened.* p. xxvi.—*Hist. Generale de Bourgogne par les Moines Benedictins*, tom. i. p. 151. published at *Paris* in folio, in the year 1739.—*Hist. Liter. de la France*, tom. ix. p. 470.

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

their division still more conspicuous by reciprocal exertions of animosity and hatred. In the year 1023, ROMUALD, an Italian fanatic, retired to *Camaldoli* [y], on the mount *Appennine*, and, in that solitary retreat, founded the order, or congregation of the *Camaldolites*, which still remains in a flourishing state, particularly in *Italy*. His followers were distinguished into two classes, of which the one were *Cœnobites*, and the other *Eremites*. Both observed a severe discipline; but the *Cœnobites* had degenerated much from their primitive austerity [z].

Some time after this, GUALBERT, a native of *Florence*, founded at *Val-Ombroso*, situated in the *Appennines*, a congregation of Benedictine monks, who, in a short space of time, propagated their discipline in several parts of *Italy* [a]. To these two Italian monasteries we may add that of *Hirsauge* in *Germany* [b], erected by WILLIAM, an eminent abbot, who had reformed many ancient convents, and was the founder of several new establishments. It is, however, to be observed, that the monastery of *Hirsauge* was rather a branch of the congregation of *Clugni*, whose laws and manner of living it had adopted, than a new fraternity.

Cistercian
monks.

XXV. Towards the conclusion of this century [c], ROBERT, abbot of *Molême* in *Burgundy*, having employed, in vain, his most zealous efforts to revive the decaying

[y] Otherwise called *Campo-Malduli*.

[z] The writers, who have given any satisfactory accounts of the order of the *Camaldolites*, are enumerated by JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, in his *Bibliotheca Lat. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 895. Add to these ROMUALDI *Vita*, in *Actis Sanctor. Februar.* tom. ii. p. 101. and in MABILLON'S *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Bened. Sac. vi.* part I. p. 247. —HELYOT, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. v. p. 236. —MABILLON, *Annal. Ord. Bened.* tom. v. p. 261. —MAGNOALDI ZEIGELBAVER, *Centifolium Camaldulense, sive Notitia Scriptor. Camaldulensium*, published at *Venice* in the year 1750.

[a] See the life of GUALBERT in MABILLON'S *Acta Sanct. Ord. Bened. Sac. vi.* part II. p. 273. —HELYOT, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. v. p. 298. Many interesting circumstances relating to the history of this order have been published by the learned LAMI, in the *Delicia Eruditorum*, published at *Florence*, tom. ii. p. 238. as also p. 272. 279. where the ancient laws of the order are enumerated; see also tom. iii. of the same work, p. 177. 212.

[b] See MABILLON, *Acta Sanct. Bened. Sac. vi.* part II. p. 716. —HELYOT, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. v. p. 332.

[c] In the year 1098.

piety and discipline of his convent, and to oblige his monks to observe, with more exactness, the rule of St. BENEDICT, retired, with about twenty monks, who had not been infected with the dissolute turn of their brethren, to a place called *Cîteaux*, in the diocese of *Chalons*. In this retreat, which was at that time a miserable desert, covered on all sides with brambles and thorns, but which bears, at present, a quite different aspect, ROBERT laid the foundations of the famous order, or congregation of *Cister-tians*, which, like that of *Clugni*, made a most rapid and astonishing progress, was propagated through the greatest part of *Europe* in the following century, and was not only enriched with the most liberal and splendid donations, but also acquired the form and privileges of a spiritual republic, and exercised a sort of dominion over all the monastic orders [d]. The great and fundamental law of this new fraternity was the rule of St. BENEDICT, which was to be solemnly and rigorously observed; to this were added several other institutions and injunctions, which were designed to maintain the authority of this rule, to ensure its observance, and to defend it against the dangerous effects of opulence, and the restless efforts of human corruption to render the best establishments imperfect. These injunctions were excessively austere, grievous to nature, but pious and laudable in the esteem of a superstitious age. They did not, however, secure the sanctity of this holy congregation; since the seducing charms of opulence, that corrupted the monks of *Clugni* much sooner than was expected, produced the same effect among the *Cister-tians*, whose zeal, in the rigorous observance of their rule, began gradually to diminish, and who, in process of time, grew as negligent and dissolute as the rest of the *Benedictines* [e].

[d] In about an hundred years after its first establishment, this order boasted of 1800 abbeys, and was become so powerful, that it governed almost all *Europe*, both in spirituals and temporals.

[e] The principal historian of the *Cister-tian Order*, is ANG. MARIQUES, whose *Annales Cister-tiennes*, an ample and learned work, were published in four volumes, folio, at *Lyons*, in the year 1642. After him we may place PIERRE LE NAIN, whose *Essai de l'Histoire de l'Ordre des Cîteaux*, was printed in the year 1696, at *Paris*, in nine volumes in 8vo. The other historians, who have given accounts of this famous order, are enumerated by FABRICIUS, in his *Biblioth.*

C E N T.
 XI.
 P A R T II.

New mona-
 stic orders.

XXVI. Besides these convents, that were founded upon the principles, and might be considered as branches of the Benedictine order, several other monastic societies were formed, which were distinguished by peculiar laws, and by rules of discipline and obedience, which they had drawn up for themselves. To many of those gloomy and fanatical monks, whose austerity was rather the fruit of a bad habit of body, than the result of a religious principle, the rule of BENEDICT appeared too mild; to others it seemed incomplete and defective, and not sufficiently accommodated to the exercise of the various duties we owe to the Supreme Being. Hence STEPHEN, a nobleman of *Auvergne* (who is called by some STEPHEN *de Muret*, from the place where he first erected the convent of his order) obtained, in the year 1073, from GREGORY VII, the privilege of instituting a new species of monastic discipline. His first design was to subject his fraternity to the rule of St. BENEDICT; but he changed his intention, and composed himself the body of laws, which was to be their rule of life, piety, and manners. In these laws there were many injunctions that shewed the excessive austerity of their author. Poverty and obedience were the two great points which he inculcated with the warmest zeal, and all his regulations were directed to promote and secure them in this new establishment; for this purpose it was solemnly enacted, that the monks should possess no lands beyond the limits of their convent; that the use of flesh should be allowed to none, not even to the sick and infirm; and that none should be permitted to keep cattle, that they might not be exposed to the temptation of violating their frugal regimen. To these severe precepts many others of equal rigour were added; for this gloomy legislator imposed upon his fraternity the solemn observance of a profound and uninterrupted silence, and insisted so much upon the importance and necessity of solitude, that none but a few persons of the highest eminence and authority were permitted to pass the threshold of his monastery.

Latina medii ævi, tom. i. p. 1066. Add to these HELYOT's *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. v. p. 341. and MABILLON, who, in the fifth and sixth volumes of his *Annales Benedictini*, has given a learned and accurate account of the origin and progress of the Cistercians.

He

He prohibited all intercourse with the sex, and indeed excluded his order from all the comforts and enjoyments of life. His followers were divided into two classes, of which the one comprehended the *clerks*, and the other, what he called, the *converted brethren*. The former were totally absorbed in the contemplation of divine things, while the latter were charged with the care and administration of whatever related to the concerns and necessities of a present life. Such were the principal circumstances of the new institution founded by STEPHEN, which arose to the highest pitch of renown in this and the following century, and was regarded with the most profound veneration as long as its laws and discipline were observed; but two things contributed to its decline, and at length brought on its ruin; the first was, the violent contest which arose between the *clerks* and the *converts*, on account of the pre-eminence which the latter pretended over the former; and the second was, the gradual diminution of the rigour and austerity of STEPHEN'S rule, which was softened and mitigated from time to time, both by the heads of the order, and by the Roman pontiffs. This once famous monastic society was distinguished by the title of the *Order of Grandmontains*, as *Muret*, where they were first established, was situated near *Grammont*, in the province of *Limoges* [f].

XXVII. In the year 1084 [g], was instituted the famous order of Carthusians, so called from *Chartreux*, a dismal and wild spot of ground near *Grenoble* in *Dauphine*, surrounded with barren mountains and craggy rocks. The founder of this monastic society, which surpassed all the

The order
of the Car-
thusians.

[f] The origin of this order is related by BERNARD GUIDON, whose treatise upon that subject is published in the *Bibliotheca Manuscriptorum*, PHIL. LABBEI, tom. ii. p. 275. For an account of the history of this celebrated society, see JO. MABILLON, *Annal. Bened.* tom. v. p. 65. f. p. 99. tom. vi. p. 116. and *Præf. ad Actor. SS. Ord. Bened. Sac.* vi. part II. p. 34.—HELYOT, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. vii. p. 409.—*Gallia Christ. Monachor. Bened.* tom. iii. p. 645.—BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenionens.* tom. i. p. 158. et *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 486.—☞ The life and ghostly exploits of STEPHEN, the founder of this order, are recorded in the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. ii. Febr. p. 199.

[g] Some place the institution of this order in the year 1080, and others in the year 1086.

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

rest in the extravagant austerity of their manners and discipline, was BRUNO, a native of *Cologne*, and canon of the cathedral of *Rheims* in *France*. This zealous ecclesiastic, who had neither power to reform, nor patience to bear the dissolute manners of his archbishop MANASSE, retired from his church with six of his companions, and, having obtained the permission of HUGH, bishop of *Grenoble*, fixed his residence in the miserable desert already mentioned [b]. He adopted at first the rule of St. BENEDICT, to which he added a considerable number of severe and rigorous precepts; his successors, however, went still farther, and imposed upon the Carthusians new laws, much more intolerable than those of their founder, laws which inculcated the highest degrees of austerity that the most gloomy imagination could invent [i]. And yet, notwithstanding all this, it is remarkable, that no monastic society degenerated so

[b] The learned FABRICIUS mentions, in his *Bibl. Lat. medij ævi*, tom. ii. p. 784. several writers who have composed the history of BRUNO and his order, but his enumeration is incomplete; since there are yet extant many histories of the Carthusians, that have escaped his notice. See INNOCENT. MASSONI *Annales Carthusian.* published in the year 1687.—PETRI ORLANDI *Chronicon Carthusianum*, and the elegant, though imperfect, history of the order in question, which is to be found in HELYOT's *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. vii. p. 366. Many important illustrations on the nature and laws of this famous society have been published by MABILLON, in his *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 638. 683. A particular and accurate account of BRUNO has been given by the Benedictine monks, in their *Hist. Liter. de la France*, tom. ix. p. 233. but a yet more ample one will be undoubtedly given by the compilers of the *Acta Sanctorum*, when they shall have carried on their work to the 6th of *October*, which is the festival consecrated to the memory of BRUNO. It was a current report in ancient times, that the occasion of BRUNO's retreat was the miraculous restoration of a certain priest to life, who, while the funeral service was performing, raised himself up and said, *By the just judgment of God I am damned*, and then expired anew. This story is looked upon as fabulous by the most respectable writers even of the Roman church, especially since it has been refuted by LAUNOY, in his treatise *De causa Secessus Brunonis in Desertum*. Nor does it seem to preserve its credit among the Carthusians, who are more interested than others in this pretended miracle. Such of them, at least, as affirm it, do it with a good deal of modesty and diffidence. The arguments on both sides are candidly and accurately enumerated by CÆS. EGASS. DU BOULAY, in his *Histor. Academ. Paris.* tom. i. p. 467.

[i] See MABILLON, *Præf. ad Sæc. vi.* part II. *Actor. SS. Ord. Bened.* p. 37.

little

little from the severity of their primitive institution and discipline as this of the Carthusians. The progress of their order was indeed less rapid, and their influence less extensive in the different countries of *Europe*, than the progress and influence of those monastic establishments, whose laws were less rigorous, and whose manners were less austere. It was a long time before the tender sex could be engaged to submit to the savage rules of this melancholy institution; nor had the Carthusian order ever reason to boast of a multitude of females subjected to its jurisdiction; it was too forbidding to captivate a sex, which, though susceptible of the seductions of enthusiasm, is of a frame too delicate to support the severities of a rigorous self-denial [k].

C E N T.
X I.
P A R T II.

XXVIII. Towards the conclusion of this century [l], the order of St. ANTHONY of *Vienne* in *Dauphine*, was instituted for the relief and support of such as were seized with grievous disorders, and particularly with the disease called *St. Anthony's fire*. All who were infected with that pestilential disorder repaired to a cell built near *Vienne* by the Benedictine monks of *Grammont*, in which the body of St. ANTHONY was said to repose, that, by the prayers and intercession of this eminent saint, they might be miraculously healed. GASTON, an opulent nobleman of *Vienne*,

The order of
St. Anthony
of *Vienne*.

[k] The Carthusian nuns have not sufficiently attracted the attention of the authors who have written concerning this famous order; nay, several writers have gone so far as to maintain, that there was not in this order a single convent of nuns. This notion, however, is highly erroneous; as there were formerly several convents of Carthusian virgins, of which indeed the greatest part have not subsisted to our times. In the year 1368, there was an extraordinary law passed, by which the establishment of any more female Carthusian convents was expressly prohibited. Hence there remain only five at this day; four in *France*, and one at *Bruges* in *Flanders*. See the *Variétés Historiques Physiques et Littéraires*, tom. i. p. 80. published at *Paris* in 8vo, in the year 1752. Certain it is, that the rigorous discipline of the Carthusians is quite inconsistent with the delicacy and tenderness of the female sex; and therefore, in the few female convents of that order that still subsist, the austerity of that discipline has been diminished, as well from necessity, as from humanity and wisdom; it was more particularly found necessary to abrogate those severe injunctions of *silence* and *solitude*, that are so little adapted to the known character and genius of the sex.

[l] In the year 1095.

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

and his son GUERIN, pretended to have experienced in their complete recovery the marvellous efficacy of St. ANTHONY's intercession, and, in consequence thereof, devoted themselves and their possessions, from a principle of pious gratitude, to the service of St. ANTHONY, and to the performance of generous and charitable offices towards all such as were afflicted with the miseries of poverty and sickness. Their example was followed, at first, but by eight persons; their community, however, was afterwards considerably augmented. They were not bound by particular vows like the other monastic orders, but were consecrated, in general, to the service of God, and lived under the jurisdiction of the monks of *Grammont*. In process of time, growing opulent and powerful by the multitude of pious donations they received from all parts, they withdrew themselves from the dominion of the Benedictines, propagated their order in various countries, and, at length, obtained, in the year 1297, from BONIFACE VIII, the dignity and privileges of an independent congregation, under the rule of St. AUGUSTIN [m].

The order of
canons.

XXIX. The licentiousness and corruption, that had infected all the other ranks and orders of the clergy, were also remarkable among the *canons*, which was a middle sort of order between the monks and secular priests, and whose first establishment was in the eighth century. In certain provinces of *Europe*, the *canons* were corrupted to a very high degree, and surpassed, in the scandalous dissolution of their manners, all the other ecclesiastical and monastic orders. Hence several pious and virtuous persons exerted their zeal for the reformation of this degenerate body; some pontiffs appeared in this good cause, and more especially NICOLAS II, who, in a council held at *Rome* in the year 1059, abrogated the ancient rule of the canons, which had been drawn up at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and substituted

[m] See the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. *Januarii*, p. 160.—HELYOT, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. ii. p. 108.—GABR. PENOTT. *Hist. Canoniorum regular.* lib. ii. c. 70.—JO. ERH. KAPPII *Diff. de fratribus S. Anton.* published at *Leipsick*, in the year 1737.—For an account of the present state of the principal hospital or residence of this order, where the abbot remains, see MARTENE and DURAND, *Voyage Litter. de deux Benedictins de la Congreg. de St. Maur.* tom. i. p. 260.

another

another in its place [n]. These laudable attempts were attended with considerable success, and a much better rule of discipline was established in almost all the canonical orders, than that which had been formerly in use. It was not, however, possible to regulate them all upon the same footing, and to subject them to the same degree of reformation and discipline; nor indeed was this necessary. Accordingly a certain number of these canonical colleges were erected into communities, the respective members of which had one common dwelling, and a common table, which was the point chiefly insisted upon by the pontifs, as this alone was sufficient to prevent the *canons* from entering into the bonds of matrimony. It did not, however, exclude them from the possession or enjoyment of private property; for they reserved to themselves the right of appropriating to their own use the fruits and revenues of their benefices, and of employing them as they thought expedient. Other canonical congregations subjected themselves to a rule of life less agreeable and commodious, in consequence of the zealous exhortations of Ivo, or IVES bishop of *Chartres*, renouncing all their worldly possessions and prospects, all private property, and living in a manner that resembled the austerity of the monastic orders. Hence arose the well-known distinction between the *secular* and the *regular canons*; the former of which observed the decree of NICOLAS II, while the latter, more prone to mortification and self-denial, complied with the directions and jurisdictions of Ivo; and as this austere prelate imitated St. AUGUSTIN [o] in the manner of regulating the conduct of his clergy, his *canons* were called, by many, the *regular canons of St. Augustin* [p].

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

[n] This decree of NICOLAS II, by which the primitive rule of the *canons* was changed, is published by MABILLON among the papers, which serve as proofs to the 4th volume of his *Annales Bened.* and also in the *Annals* themselves. See tom. iv. *Annal. Bened.* p. 748. as also lib. lxi. § xxxv. p. 586.

[o] St. AUGUSTIN committed to writing no particular rule for his clergy; but his manner of ruling them may be learned from several passages in his *Epistles*.

[p] See MABILLON, *Annal. Bened.* tom. iv. p. 586. et *Opera Posthuma*, tom. ii. p. 102. 115.—HELYOT, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. ii. p. 11.—LUD. THOMASSINI *Disciplina Ecclesiæ circa Beneficia*, tom. i. part I. l. iii. c. xi. p. 657.—MURATORI *Antiq. Ital. medii*

CENT.
XI.
PART II.

The principal Greek writers.

XXX. The most eminent Greek writers of this century, were,

THEOPHANES *Cerameus*, i. e. the *potter*, of whom there is yet extant a volume of *Homilies*, that are not altogether contemptible ;

ævi, tom. v. p. 257.—In the *Gallia Christiana* of the Benedictine monks, we find frequent mention made both of this reformation of the *canons*, and also of their division into *seculars* and *regulars*. The *regular canons* are much displeased with all the accounts, that render the origin of their community so recent ; they are extremely ambitious of appearing with the venerable character of an ancient establishment, and therefore trace back their first rise, through the darkness of the remotest ages, to CHRIST himself, or at least to St. AUGUSTIN. But the arguments and testimonies, by which they pretend to support this imagined antiquity of their order, are a proof of the weakness of their cause and of the vanity of their pretensions, and are not, therefore, worthy of a serious refutation. It is true, the title of *canons* is, undoubtedly, of much more ancient date, than the eleventh century, but not as applied to a particular order or institution, for at its first rise it was used in a very vague general sense (see CLAUD. DE VERT, *Explications des Ceremonies de la Messe*, tom. i. p. 58.) and therefore the mere existence of the title proves nothing. At the same time, it is evident beyond all possibility of contradiction, that we find not the least mention made of the division of the *canons* into *regular* and *secular* before the eleventh century. And it is equally certain, that those *canons*, who had nothing in common but their *dwelling* and *table*, were called *secular* ; while those who had divested themselves of all private property, and had every thing, without exception, in common with their fraternity, were distinguished by the title of *regular canons*.

To Dr. MOSHEIM's account of the *canons*, it may not be improper to add a few words concerning their introduction into England, and their progress and establishment among us. The order of *regular canons* of St. *Augustin* was brought into England by ADELWALD, confessor to HENRY I, who first erected a priory of his order at *Nostel* in *Yorkshire*, and had influence enough to have the church of *Carlisle* converted into an episcopal see, and given to regular canons invested with the privilege of choosing their bishop. This order was singularly favoured and protected by HENRY I, who gave them, in the year 1107, the priory of *Dunstable*, and by queen MAUD, who erected for them, the year following, the priory of the *Holy Trinity* in *London*, the prior of which was always one of the twenty-four aldermen. They increased so prodigiously, that, besides the noble priory of *Merton*, which was founded for them, in the year 1117, by GILBERT, an earl of the Norman blood, they had, under the reign of EDWARD I, fifty-three priories, as appears by the catalogue presented to that prince, when he obliged all the monasteries to receive his protection and to acknowledge his jurisdiction.

NILUS DOXOPATRIUS, who was remarkable for his knowledge in matters relating to ecclesiastical polity ;

NICETAS PECTORATUS, who was a most strenuous defender of the religious sentiments and customs of the Greek church ;

MICHAEL PSELLUS, whose vast progress in various kinds of learning and science procured him a most distinguished and shining reputation ;

MICHAEL CERULARIUS, bishop or patriarch of *Constantinople*, who imprudently revived the controversy between the Greeks and Latins, which had been for some time happily suspended ;

SIMEON, the Younger, author of a book of *Meditations on the Duties of the Christian life*, which is yet extant ;

THEOPHYLACT, a Bulgarian, whose illustrations of the sacred writings were received with universal approbation and esteem [q].

XXXI. The writers, who distinguished themselves most among the Latins, were they that follow : Latin writers.

FULBERT, bishop of *Chartres*, eminent for his love of letters, and his zeal for the education of youth, as also for various compositions, particularly his epistles, and famous for his excessive and enthusiastic attachment to the Virgin MARY [r].

HUMBERT, a Cardinal of the Roman church, who far surpassed all the Latins, both in the vehemence and learning which appeared in his controversial writings against the Greeks [s] ;

PETRUS DAMIANUS, who, on account of his genius, candor, probity, and various erudition, deserves to be ranked among the most learned and estimable writers of this century ; though he was not altogether untainted with the reigning prejudices and defects of the times [t] ;

[q] For a more ample account of these Greek writers, the reader may consult the *Bibliotheca Græca* of FABRICIUS.

[r] For a farther account of this eminent man, see the *Hist. Liter. de la France*, tom. vii. p. 261.

[s] See MARTENE, *Thesaurus Anecd.* tom. v. p. 629.—*Histoire Liter. de la France*, tom. vii. p. 527.

[t] See the *Acta Sanctor. Febr.* tom. iii. p. 406.—*General Dictionary*, at the article DAMIEN.—CASIM. OUDINI *Diff.* in tom. ii. *Comm. de Scriptor. Eccles.* p. 686.

CENT.
XI.
PART II.

MARIANUS SCOTUS, whose *Chronicle*, with several other compositions, is yet extant ;

ANSELM, archbishop of *Canterbury*, a man of great genius and subtilty, deeply versed in the dialectics of this age, and most illustriously distinguished by his profound and extraordinary knowledge in theology [u] ;

LANFRANC, also archbishop of *Canterbury*, who acquired a high degree of reputation by his *Commentary upon the Epistles of St. PAUL*, as also by several other productions [w], which, considering the age in which he lived, discover an uncommon measure of sagacity and erudition [x] ;

BRUNO of mount *Cassin*, and the other famous ecclesiastic of that name, who founded the monastery of the Carthusians ;

Ivo, bishop of *Chartres*, who was so eminently distinguished by his zeal and activity in maintaining the rights and privileges of the church ;

HILDEBERT, archbishop of *Tours*, who was a philosopher and a poet, as well as a divine, without being either eminent or contemptible in any of these characters [y] ; but, upon the whole, a man of considerable learning and capacity ;

[u] See the *Hist. Liter. de la France*, tom. ix. p. 398.—RAPIN THOYRAS, *Hist. d'Angleterre*, tom. ii. p. 65. 166. de l'ed. en 4to.—COLONIA, *Hist. Liter. de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 210.—We have already given a more ample account of the eminent abilities and learned productions of ANSELM.

[w] Among these productions, we may reckon LANFRANC's *Letters* to pope ALEXANDER II, to HILDEBRAND, while archdeacon of Rome, and to several bishops in *England* and *Normandy* ; as also *A Commentary upon the Psalms* ; *A Treatise concerning Confession* ; *An Ecclesiastical History*, which is not extant ; and, *A remarkable Dissertation concerning the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist*. In this last performance, LANFRANC endeavours to prove against BERENGAR the reality of a *corporal presence* in the eucharist ; though it is manifest, that this opinion was not the doctrine of the church of *England*, in the conclusion of the tenth, or the commencement of the following century. See COLLIER's *Eccles. History of Great Britain*, vol. i. p. 260. 263.

[x] *Hist. Liter. de la France*, tom. viii. p. 260.

[y] The Benedictine monks published, in folio, at *Paris*, in the year 1708, the *Works* of HILDEBERT, illustrated by the observations of BEAUGENDRE.

GREGORY

GREGORY VII, that imperious and arrogant pontif, of whom we have several productions, beside his *Letters*.

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the doctrine of the church in this century.

I. **I**T is not necessary to draw at full length the hideous portrait of the religion of this age. It may easily be imagined, that its features were full of deformity, when we consider that its guardians were equally destitute of knowledge and virtue, and that the heads and rulers of the Christian church, instead of exhibiting models of piety, held forth in their conduct scandalous examples of the most flagitious crimes. The people were sunk in the grossest superstition, and employed all their zeal in the worship of images and relics, and in the performance of a trifling round of ceremonies, which were imposed upon them by the tyranny of a despotic priesthood. The more learned, 'tis true, retained still some notions of the truth, which, however, they obscured and corrupted by a wretched mixture of opinions and precepts, of which some were ludicrous, others pernicious, and the most of them equally destitute of truth and utility. There were, no doubt, in several places, judicious and pious men, who would have willingly lent a supporting hand to the declining cause of true religion; but the violent prejudices of a barbarous age rendered all such attempts not only dangerous, but even desperate; and those chosen spirits, who had escaped the general contagion, lay too much concealed, and had therefore too little influence to combat, with success, the formidable patrons of impiety and superstition, who were extremely numerous, in all ranks and orders, from the throne to the cottage.

The state of religion.

II. Notwithstanding all this, we find, from the time of GREGORY VII, several proofs of the zealous efforts of those, who are generally called, by the protestants, the *witnesses of the truth*; by whom are meant, such pious and judicious Christians, as adhered to the pure religion of the gospel, and remained uncorrupted amidst the growth of superstition; who deplored the miserable state to which Christianity

Witnesses of the truth.

C E N T.
 XI.
 P A R T II.

Christianity was reduced, by the alteration of its divine doctrines, and the vices of its profligate ministers ; who opposed, with vigour, the tyrannic ambition both of the lordly pontif and the aspiring bishops ; and in some provinces privately, in others openly, attempted the reformation of a corrupt and idolatrous church, and of a barbarous and superstitious age. This was, indeed, bearing witness to the truth in the noblest manner, and it was principally in *Italy* and *France* that the marks of this heroic piety were exhibited. [Nor is it at all surprizing, that the reigning superstition of the times met with this opposition ; it is astonishing, on the contrary, that this opposition was not much greater and more universal, and that millions of Christians suffered themselves to be hood-winked with such a tame submission, and closed their eyes upon the light with so little reluctance.] For notwithstanding the darkness of the times, and the general ignorance of the true religion that prevailed in all ranks and orders, yet the very fragments of the gospel (if we may use that term) which were still read and explained to the people, were sufficient, at least, to convince the most stupid and illiterate, that the religion, which was now imposed upon them, was not the true religion of JESUS ; that the discourses, the lives and morals of the clergy were directly opposite to what the divine Saviour required of his disciples, and to the rules he had laid down for the direction of their conduct ; that the pontifs and bishops abused, in a scandalous manner, their power and opulence ; and that the favour of God, and the salvation exhibited in his blessed gospel, were not to be obtained by performing a round of external ceremonies, by pompous donations to churches and priests, or by founding and enriching monasteries, but by real sanctity of heart and manners.

III. It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that they who undertook with such zeal and ardour, the reformation of the church, were not, for the most part, equal to this arduous and important enterprize, and that by avoiding, with more vehemence than circumspection, certain abuses and defects, they rushed unhappily into the opposite extremes. They all perceived the abominable nature of those inventions with which superstition had disfigured the religion of JESUS ; but they had also lost sight of the true nature and genius

genius of that celestial religion, that lay thus disfigured in the hands of a superstitious and dissolute priesthood. They were shocked at the absurdities of the established worship; but few of them were sufficiently acquainted with the sublime precepts and doctrines of genuine Christianity, to substitute in the place of this superstitious worship a rational service. Hence their attempts of reformation, even where they were successful, were extremely imperfect, and produced little more than a motley mixture of truth and falsehood, of wisdom and indiscretion; of which we might alledge a multitude of examples. Observing, for instance, that the corruption and licentiousness of the clergy were, in a great measure, occasioned by their excessive opulence, and their vast possessions, they conceived rashly the highest ideas of the salutary effects of indigence, and looked upon voluntary poverty as the most eminent and illustrious virtue of a Christian minister. They had also formed to themselves a notion, that the primitive church was to be the standing and perpetual model, according to which the rites, government, and worship of all Christian churches were to be regulated in all the ages of the world; and that the lives and manners of the holy apostles were to be rigorously followed, in every respect, by all the ministers of CHRIST. [These notions, which were injudiciously taken up, and blindly entertained (without any regard to the difference of times, places, circumstances, and characters; without considering that the provident wisdom of CHRIST and his apostles left many regulations to the prudence and piety of the governors of the church) were productive of many pernicious effects, and threw these good reformers, whose zeal was not always according to knowledge, from the extreme of superstition into the extreme of enthusiasm.] Many well-meaning persons, whose intentions were highly laudable, fell into great errors in consequence of these ill-grounded notions. Justly incensed at the conduct of the superstitious multitude, who placed the whole of religion in external services, and hoped to secure their salvation by the performance of a laborious round of unmeaning rites and ceremonies, they rashly maintained that true piety was to be confined entirely to the inward motions and affections of the soul, and to the contemplation of spiritual and divine things. In consequence of this specious yet
erroneous

C E N T.
XI.
PART II.

Commenta-
tors and ex-
positors.

erroneous principle, they treated with the utmost contempt all the external parts of religious worship, and aimed at nothing less than the total suppression of sacraments, churches, religious assemblies of every kind, and Christian ministers of every order.

IV. Several of both the Greek and Latin writers employed their learned and pious labours in the exposition and illustration of the holy scriptures. Among the Latins, BRUNO wrote a commentary on the *Book of Psalms*, LANFRANC upon the *Epistles of St. Paul*, BERENGER upon the *Revelations of St. John*, GREGORY VII upon the *Gospel of St. Matthew*, and others upon other parts of the sacred writings. But all these expositors, in compliance with the prevailing custom of the times, either copied the explanations of the ancient commentators, or made such whimsical applications of certain passages of scripture, both in explaining the doctrines and in inculcating the duties of religion, that it is often difficult to peruse them without indignation or disgust. The most eminent of the Grecian expositors was THEOPHYLACT, a native of *Bulgaria*; though he also is indebted to the ancients, and, in a particular manner, to St. CHRYSOSTOM, for the greatest part of his most judicious observations [z]. Nor must we pass in silence the commentary upon the *Book of Psalms*, and the *Song of Solomon*, that was composed by the learned MICHAEL PSELLUS; nor the *Chain* of commentaries upon the *Book of Job*, which we owe to the industry of NICETAS.

The schola-
stic theology

V. All the Latin doctors, if we except a few Hibernian divines, who blended with the beautiful simplicity of the gospel the perplexing subtilties of an obscure philosophy, had hitherto derived their system of religion, and their explanations of divine truth, either from the holy scriptures alone, or from these sacred oracles explained by the illustrations, and compared with the theology, of the ancient doctors. But in this century certain writers, and among

[z] For an account of THEOPHYLACT, see RICH. SIMON, *Hist. Critique des principaux Commentateurs du N. T.* ch. xxviii. p. 390. & *Critique de la Bibliotheque des auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, par DU PIN, tom. i. p. 310. where he also speaks largely concerning NICETAS and OECUMENIUS.

others,

others, the famous BERENGER [a], went much farther, and employed the rules of logic and the subtilties of metaphysical discussions, both in explaining the doctrines of scripture, and in proving the truth of their own particular opinions. Hence LANFRANC, the antagonist of BERENGER, and afterwards archbishop of *Canterbury*, introduced into the field of religious controversy the same philosophical arms, and seemed, in general, desirous of employing the dictates of reason to illustrate and confirm the truths of religion. His example, in this respect, was followed by ANSELM, his disciple and successor in the see of *Canterbury*, a man of a truly metaphysical genius, and capable of giving the greatest air of dignity and importance to the *first philosophy*. Such were the beginnings of that philosophical theology, which grew afterwards, by degrees, into a cloudy and enormous system, and, from the publick schools in which it was cultivated, acquired the name of *scholastic divinity* [b]. It is, however, necessary to observe, that the eminent divines, who first set on foot this new species of theology, and thus laudably maintained that most noble and natural connexion of FAITH with REASON, and of RELIGION with PHILOSOPHY, were much more prudent and moderate than their followers, in the use and application of this conciliatory scheme. They kept, for the most part, within bounds, and wisely reflected upon the limits of reason; their language was clear; the questions they proposed were instructive and interesting; they avoided all discussions that were only proper to satisfy a vain and idle curiosity; and, in their disputes and demonstrations, they made, generally speaking, a wise and sober use of the

[a] Otherwise called BERENGARIUS, and famous for the noble opposition he made to the doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, which LANFRANC so absurdly pretended to support upon philosophical principles. The attempt of this latter to introduce the rules of logic into religious controversy would have been highly laudable, had not he perverted this respectable science to the defence of the most monstrous absurdities.

[b] See CHR. AUGUST. HEUMANNI *Præfat. ad Tribbechorvii Librum de Doctoribus Scholasticis*, p. 14.—The sentiments of the learned, concerning the first author or inventor of the scholastic divinity, are collected by JO. FRANC. BUDDEUS, in his *Isagoge ad Theolog.* tom. i. p. 358.

C E N T.
 XI.
 P A R T II.

rules of logic, and of the dictates of philosophy [c]. [Their followers, on the contrary, ran with a metaphysical frenzy into the greatest abuses, and, by the most unjustifiable perversion of a wise and excellent method of searching after, and confirming truth, they banished evidence out of religion, common sense out of philosophy, and erected a dark and enormous mass of pretended science, in which words passed for ideas, and sounds for sense.]

VI. No sooner was this new method introduced, than the Latin doctors began to reduce all the doctrines of religion into one permanent and connected system, and to treat theology as a science; an enterprise, which had hitherto been attempted by none, but TAIO, of Saragossa, a writer of the seventh century, and the learned DAMAS-

[c] We shall here transcribe a passage from the works of LANFRANC, who is considered by many as the father of the scholastic system, that the reader may see how far the first schoolmen surpassed their disciples and followers in wisdom, modesty, and candour. We take this passage from that prelate's book concerning *The body and blood of Christ* *, and it is as follows: *Testis mihi Deus est et conscientia mea, quia in tractatu divinarum litterarum nec proponere nec ad propositas respondere cuperem dialecticas quæstiones, vel earum solutiones. Et si quando materia disputandi talis est, ut hujus artis regulis valeat enucleatius explicari, in quantum possum, per æquipollentias propositionum tego artem, ne videar magis arte, quam veritate, sanctorumque patrum auctoritate confidere.* LANFRANC here declares in the most solemn manner, even by an appeal to God and his conscience, that he was so far from having the least inclination to propose or to answer logical questions in the course of his theological labours, that, on the contrary, when he was forced to have recourse to the science of dialectic, in order the better to illustrate his subject, he concealed the succours he derived from thence with all possible care, lest he should seem to place more confidence in the resources of art, than in the simplicity of truth, and the authority of the holy fathers. These last words shew plainly the two sources from whence the Christian doctors had hitherto derived all their tenets, and the arguments by which they maintained them, viz. from the holy scriptures, which LANFRANC here calls the truth, and from the writings of the ancient fathers of the church. To these two sources of theology and argumentation, a third was added in this century, even the science of logic, which, however, was only employed by the managers of controversy to repulse their adversaries, who came armed with syllogisms, or to remove difficulties which were drawn from reason and from the nature of things. But, in succeeding times, the two former sources were either entirely neglected or sparingly employed, and philosophical demonstration, or, at least, something that bore that name, was regarded as a sufficient support to the truths of religion.

* Cap. vii. p. 236. Opp. ed. LUC. DACHERII.

CENUS, who flourished among the Greeks in the following age. The Latin doctors had hitherto confined their theological labours to certain branches of the Christian religion, which they illustrated only on certain occasions. The first production which looked like a general system of theology was that of the celebrated ANSELM; this however was surpassed by the complete and universal body of divinity, which was composed, towards the conclusion of this century, by HILDEBERT, archbishop of *Tours*, who seems to have been regarded both as the first and the best model in this kind of writing, by the innumerable legions of system-makers, who arose in succeeding times [d]. This learned prelate demonstrated first the doctrines of his system by proofs drawn from the holy scriptures, and also from the writings of the ancient fathers of the church; and in this he followed the custom that had prevailed in the preceding ages; but he went yet farther, and answered the objections, which might be brought against his doctrine, by arguments drawn from reason and philosophy; this part of his method was entirely new, and peculiar to the age in which he lived [e].

VII. The moral writers of this century, who undertook to unfold the obligations of Christians, and to delineate the nature, the extent, and the various branches, of true virtue and evangelical obedience, treated this most excellent of all sciences in a manner quite unsuitable to its dignity and importance. We find sufficient proofs of this in the moral writings of PETER DAMIEN [f], and

Moral writers.

[d] This body of divinity, which was the first complete theological system that had been composed among the Latins, is inserted in the *Works* of HILDEBERT, published by BEAUGENDRE, who shews evidently, in his *Preface*, that PETER LOMBARD, PULLUS, and the other writers of theological systems, did no more than follow servilely the traces of HILDEBERT.

[e] It may not be improper to place here a passage which is taken from a treatise of ANSELM's, entitled, *Cur Deus homo?* since this passage was respected, by the first scholastic divines, as an immutable law in theology; *Sicut rectus ordo exigit*, says the learned prelate, *ut profunda fidei Christianæ credamus, priusquam ea præsumamus ratione discutere: ita negligentia mihi videtur, si, postquam confirmati sumus in fide, non studemus quod credimus intelligere*: which amounts to this, *That we must first believe without examination, but must afterwards endeavour to understand what we believe.*

[f] See PETRUS DAMIANUS, *De Virtutibus*.

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

even of the learned HILDEBERT [g]. The moralists of this age generally confined themselves to a jejune explication of, what are commonly called, the four cardinal virtues, to which they added the *Ten Commandments*, to complete their system. ANSELM, the famous prelate of *Canterbury*, surpassed, indeed, all the moral writers of his time; the books which he composed, with a design to promote practical religion, and more especially his *Book of Meditations and Prayers*, contain many excellent things, several happy thoughts expressed with much energy and unction. [Nor did the mystic divines satisfy themselves with piercing, by *extatic thought*, and *feeling*, into the sublime regions of *beauty* and *love*; they conceived, and brought forth several productions that were destined to diffuse the pure delights of *union* and *communion* through enamoured souls.] JOHANNES JOHANNELLUS, a Latin mystic, wrote a treatise concerning *Divine Contemplation* [h]; and SIMEON, the younger, who was a Grecian sage of the same visionary class, composed several discourses upon subjects of a like nature.

The state of
controversial
divinity.

VIII. Among the controversial writers of this century, we see the effects of the scholastic method that BERENGER and LANFRANC had introduced into the study of theology. We see divines entering the lists armed with syllogisms, which they manage awkwardly, and aiming rather to confound their adversaries by the subtilties of logic, than to convince them by the power of evidence; while those who were unprovided with this philosophical armour made a still more wretched and despicable figure, fell into the grossest and most perverse blunders, and seem to have written without either thinking of their subject, or of the manner of treating it with success. DAMIANUS, already mentioned, defended the truth of Christianity against the Jews; but his success was not equal either to the warmth of his zeal, or to the uprightness of his intentions. SAMUEL, a convert from *Judaism* to Christianity, wrote an elaborate treatise against those of his nation, which is still extant. But the noblest champion, that

[g] See HILDEBERTI *Philosophia Moralis*, et *Libellus de iv Virtutibus honestæ vitæ*.

[h] See the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. viii. p. 48.

appeared at this period of time in the cause of religion, was the famous ANSELM, who attacked the enemies of Christianity, and the audacious contemners of all religion, in an ingenious work [i], which was perhaps, by its depth and acuteness, above the comprehension of those whom it was designed to convince of their errors. [For it happened, no doubt, in these earlier times, as it frequently does in our days, that many gave themselves out for unbelievers, who knew not the first principles of reasoning, and whose incredulity was the fruit of ignorance and presumption, nourished by licentiousness and corruption of heart.]

C E N T.
XI.
PART II.

IX. The famous contest between the Greek and Latin churches, which, though not decided, had, however, been suspended for a considerable time, was imprudently revived, in the year 1053, by MICHAEL CERULARIUS, patriarch of *Constantinople*, a man of a restless and turbulent spirit, who blew the flame of religious discord, and widened the fatal breach by new invectives and new accusations. The pretexts that were employed to justify this new rupture, were zeal for the truth, and an anxious concern about the interests of religion; but its true causes were the arrogance and ambition of the Grecian patriarch and the Roman pontif. The latter was constantly forming the most artful stratagems to reduce the former under his imperious yoke; and, for this purpose, he left no means unemployed to gain over to his side the bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, by withdrawing them from the jurisdiction of the see of *Constantinople*. The tumultuous and unhappy state of the Grecian empire was singularly favourable to his aspiring views, as the friendship and alliance of the Roman pontif was highly useful to the Greeks in their struggles with the Saracens and the Normans, who were settled in *Italy*. On the other hand, the Grecian pontif was not only determined to refuse obstinately the least mark of submission to his haughty rival, but was also laying schemes for extending his dominion, and for reducing all the Oriental patriarchs under his supreme jurisdiction. Thus the contending parties were preparing for the

The controversy between the Greeks and Latins revived.

[i] This work was entitled, *Liber adversus insipientem*, i. e. *The fool refuted*.

CENT.
XI.
PART II.

field of controversy, when CERULARIUS began the charge by a warm letter written in his own name, and in the name of LEO, bishop of *Achrida*, who was his chief counsellor, to JOHN, bishop of *Trani*, in *Apulia*, in which he publicly accused the Latins of various errors [k]. LEO IX, who was then in the papal chair, answered this letter in a most imperious manner; and, not satisfied with shewing his indignation by mere words, assembled a council at *Rome*, in which the Greek churches were solemnly excommunicated [l].

X. CONSTANTINE, surnamed *Monomachus*, who was now at the head of the Grecian empire, endeavoured to stifle this controversy in its birth, and, for that purpose, desired the Roman pontif to send legates to *Constantinople*, to concert measures for restoring and confirming the tranquillity of the church. Three legates were accordingly sent from *Rome* to that imperial city, who brought with them letters from LEO IX not only to the emperor, but also to the Grecian pontif. These legates were cardinal HUMBERT, a man of a high and impetuous spirit, PETER, archbishop of *Amalfi*, and FREDERIC, archdeacon and chancellor of the church of *Rome*. The issue of this congress was unhappy in the highest degree, notwithstanding the propensity which the emperor, for political reasons [m], discovered to the cause of the bishop of *Rome*. The arrogance of LEO IX, and his insolent letters, excited the highest indignation in the breast of CERULARIUS, and produced a personal aversion to this audacious pontif, which inflamed, instead of healing, the wounds of the church; while, on the other hand, the Roman legates gave many and evident proofs, that the design of their embassy was not to restore peace and concord, but to establish among the Greeks the supreme authority and the ghostly

[k] See an account of these errors § xi.

[l] These letters of CERULARIUS and LEO are published in the *Annals* of BARONIUS, *ad An.* 1053.—The former is also inserted by CANISIUS, in his *Lectio. Antiq.* tom. iii. p. 281. ed. nov.—LEONIS *Concilia*, &c.

[m] He stood greatly in need of the assistance of the Germans and Italians against the Normans, and hoped to obtain it by the good offices of the pope, who was in high credit with the emperor HENRY III.

dominion of the Roman pontif. Thus all hopes of a happy conclusion of these miserable divisions entirely vanished; and the Roman legates finding their efforts ineffectual to overcome the vigorous resistance of CERULARIUS, they, with the highest insolence, as well as imprudence, excommunicated publicly in the church of *St. Sophia*, A. D. 1054, the Grecian patriarch, with LEO of *Achrida*, and all their adherents; and leaving a written act of their inhuman imprecations and anathemas upon the grand altar of that temple, they *shook the dust off their feet*, and thus departed. This violent step rendered the evil incurable, which it was before not only possible, but perhaps easy to remedy. The Grecian patriarch imitated the vehemence of the Roman legates, and did from resentment what they had perpetrated from a principle of ambition and arrogance. He excommunicated these legates with all their adherents and followers in a public council, and procured an order of the emperor for burning the act of excommunication, which they had pronounced against the Greeks [n]. These vehement measures were followed on both sides with a multitude of controversial writings, that were filled with the most bitter and irritating invectives, and served no other purpose than to add fuel to the flame.

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

XI. CERULARIUS added new accusations to the ancient charge, which had been brought by PHOTIUS against the Latin churches, of which the principal was, that they used unleavened bread in the celebration of the Lord's supper. This accusation (such were the times!) was looked upon as a matter of the most serious nature, and of the highest consequence; it was, therefore, debated between the Greeks and Latins with the utmost vehemence, nor did the Grecian and Roman pontifs contend with

[n] Besides BARONIUS and other writers, whose accounts of this period of time are generally known, and not always exact, see MABILLON, *Annal. Bened.* tom. v. lib. lx. *ad A.* 1053. *et Præf. ad Sæc.* vi. *Actor. SS. Benedicti*, part II. p. 1.—LEO ALLATIUS, *De libris Græcor. Ecclesiast. Diff.* ii. p. 160. ed. Fabricii, *et De Perpetua Eccles. Orient. et Occident. Consensione*, lib. ii. cap. ix. p. 614.—MICH. LE QUIEN, *Oriente Christiano*, tom. i. p. 260. *et Diff. Damascena prima*, § xxxi. p. 16.—HERMANNI *Historia Concertationum de pane Azymo et fermentato*, p. 59. published at *Leipsic* in the year 1739.—JO. BAPT. COTELERIUS, *Monum. Ecclesiæ Græcæ*, tom. ii. p. 108.

C E N T.
 XI.
 P A R T II.

more fury and bitterness about the extent of their power, and the limits of their jurisdiction, than the Greek and Latin churches disputed about the use of unleavened bread. The other heads of accusation that were brought against the Latins by the Grecian pontif discovered rather a malignant and contentious spirit, and a profound ignorance of genuine Christianity, than a generous zeal for the cause of truth. He complains, for instance, in the heaviest manner, that the Latins don't abstain from the use of blood and of things strangled; that their monks eat lard, and permit the use of flesh to such of the brethren as are sick or infirm; that their bishops adorn their fingers with rings, as if they were bride-grooms; that their priests are beardless; and that in the rite of baptism they confined themselves to one single immersion [o]. Such were the miserable and trifling objects that excited a fatal schism, and kindled a furious war between the Greeks and Latins, who carried their animosities to the greatest lengths, and loaded each other with reciprocal invectives and imprecations. The attentive reader will form from hence a just idea of the deplorable state of religion both in the eastern and western world at this period, and will see, in this dreadful schism, the true origin of the various sects that multiplied the different forms of superstition and error in these unhappy times.

A new controversy concerning the sanctity of images.

XII. This vehement dispute, which the Greeks had to carry on against the Latin churches, was well nigh followed by a fatal division among themselves. Amidst the straits and difficulties to which the empire was now reduced by the expences of war, and the calamities of the times, ALEXIUS not only employed the treasures of the church in order to answer the exigencies of the state, but ordered also the plates of silver, and the figures of that metal that adorned the portals of the churches, to be taken down and converted into money. This measure excited

[o] See CERULARII *Epistola ad Johannem Tranensem in Canisii Lection. Antiq.* tom. iii. p. 281. where the reader will also find the refutation of this letter by Cardinal HUMBERT. See likewise CERULARII *Epistola ad Petrum Antiochenf.* in COTELERII *Monumentis Ecclesie Græc.* tom. ii. p. 138. add to these MARTENE, *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 847.

the indignation of LEO, bishop of *Chalcedon*, a man of austere morals, and of an obstinate spirit, who maintained that the emperor, in this step, was guilty of sacrilege; and to prove this charge, published a treatise, in which he affirmed, that in the images of JESUS CHRIST, and of the saints, there resided a certain kind of *inherent sanctity*, that was a proper object of religious worship; and that, therefore, the adoration of Christians ought not to be confined to the persons represented by these images, but extended also to the images themselves. This new controversy excited various tumults and seditions among the people, to suppress which the emperor assembled a council at *Constantinople*, in which the question was terminated by the following decisions: "That the images of CHRIST, and of the saints, were to be honoured only with a *relative worship* [p], which was to be offered, not to the substance or matter of which these images were composed, but to the *form and features* of which they bore the impression; that the representations of CHRIST, and of the saints, whether in painting or sculpture, did in no sense *partake of the nature* of the divine Saviour, or of these holy men, though they were enriched with a certain communication of divine grace; and, lastly, that invocation and worship were to be addressed to the saints, only as the servants of CHRIST, and on account of their relation to him, as their master." These decisions, absurd and superstitious as they were, were not enough so for LEO, the idolatrous bishop of *Chalcedon*, who maintained his monstrous system with obstinacy, and was, for that reason, sent into banishment [q].

XIII. The famous dispute concerning the *presence* of CHRIST's body and blood in the eucharist was revived about the middle of this century in the Latin church. Hitherto the disputants on both sides had proposed their jarring opinions with the utmost freedom, unrestrained by the despotic voice of authority, since no council had given a definitive sentence upon this matter, nor prescribed a rule

Controversies in the Latin church about the Lord's supper.

[p] Σχετικῶς προσκυνῶμεν, ἢ λατρευτικῶς τὰς εἰκόνας.

[q] An ample account of this whole matter is given by ANNA COMNENA, in her *Alexiad*, lib. v. p. 104. lib. vii. p. 158. edit. *Venet.*—The acts of this council, the very mention of which is omitted by several historians of considerable note, are published by MONTFAUCON, in his *Bibliotheca Coisliniana*, p. 103.

CENT.
 XI.
 PART II.

of faith to terminate all inquiry and debate [r]. Hence it was, that, in the beginning of this century, LEUTHERIC, archbishop of *Sens*, affirmed, in opposition to the general opinion of the times, that none but the sincere and upright Christian, none but saints and real believers, received the body of CHRIST in the holy sacrament. This opinion, which was broached in the year 1004, was every way proper to excite rumours among the people; but these its natural effects were happily prevented by the influence of ROBERT, king of *France*, and the wise counsels of some prudent friends, who hindered the fanatical prelate from disseminating this whimsical invention [s]. It was not so easy to extinguish the zeal, or to stop the mouth of the famous BERENGER, principal of the public school at *Tours*, and afterwards archbishop of *Angers*, a man of a most acute and subtile genius, and highly renowned both on account of his extensive learning, and the exemplary sanctity of his life and manners. This eminent ecclesiastic maintained publicly, in the year 1045, the doctrine of JOHANNES SCOTUS, opposed warmly the monstrous opinions of PASCHASIUS RADBERT, which were adapted to captivate a superstitious multitude by exciting their astonishment, and persevered with a noble obstinacy in teaching that the bread and wine were not changed into the body and blood of CHRIST in the eucharist, but preserved their natural and essential qualities, and were no more than figures and external symbols of the body and blood of the divine Saviour. This wise and rational doctrine was no sooner published, than it was opposed by certain doctors in *France* and *Germany*; but the Roman

[r] The various opinions concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper, that were embraced during this century, are collected by MARTENE from an ancient manuscript, and published in his *Voyage Literaire de deux Benedictins de la Congregation de S. Maur*, tom. ii. p. 126.

[s] See DU BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. i. p. 354.

[t] See the *Life* of BERENGER in the *Works* of HILDEBERT, archdeacon of *Mans*, p. 1324.—See also *Histoire Literaire de la France*, tom. viii. p. 197.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. i. p. 304. and the authors mentioned by FABRICIUS, *Biblioth. Lat. mediæ ævi*, tom. i. p. 570. It is probably by a press-error, that HILDEBERT is styled archbishop, instead of archdeacon, by PARIS *Hist. lib. i. p. 10. edit. Watts*.

pontif

pontif LEO IX attacked it with peculiar vehemence and fury in the year 1050 ; and in two councils, the one assembled at *Rome*, and the other at *Vercelli*, had the doctrine of BERENGER solemnly condemned, and the book of SCOTUS, from which it was drawn, committed to the flames. This example was followed by the council of *Paris*, which was summoned the very same year by HENRY I, and in which BERENGER, and his numerous adherents, were menaced with all sorts of evils, both spiritual and temporal. These threats were executed, in part, against this unhappy prelate, whom HENRY deprived of all his revenues ; but neither threatnings, nor fines, nor synodical decrees, could shake the firmness of his mind, or engage him to renounce the doctrine he had embraced.

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

XIV. After these proceedings, the controversy was for some years happily suspended, and BERENGER, whose patrons were as numerous as his enemies were formidable [u], enjoyed, for a while, the sweets of liberty and peace. His enemies, however, after the death of LEO IX, rekindled the flame of religious discord, and persuaded his successor VICTOR II to examine anew the doctrine of BERENGER. The pontif complied, and sent his legates to two different councils that were assembled at *Tours*, in the year 1054 [w], for that purpose. In one of these councils the famous HILDEBRAND, who was afterwards pontif under the title of GREGORY VII, appeared in the character of legate, and opposed the new doctrine with the utmost vehemence. BERENGER was also present at this assembly, and, overpowered with threats, rather than convinced by reason and argument, he not only abandoned his opinions, but (if we may believe his adversaries, to whose testimony we are confined in this matter) abjured them solemnly, and, in consequence of this humbling step, made his peace with the church. This abjuration, however, was far from being sincere, and the docility of BERENGER was no more than an act of dissimulation ; for soon after this period, he taught anew, though with more circumspection and prudence, the opinions he had for-

The pontifs
strive, in
vain, to put
an end to
this debate.

[u] His most formidable enemy and rival was LANFRANC, archbishop of *Canterbury*.

[w] Other historians mention but one council, and place it in the year 1055.

CENT.
XI.
PART II.

merly professed. That his conduct here appears mean and dishonest, is indeed evident; but we are not sufficiently acquainted with the transactions of these councils to fix precisely the degree of his crime.

XV. The account of BERENGER's perfidy being brought to NICOLAS II, the exasperated pontif summoned him to *Rome* A. D. 1058, and terrified him, in such a manner, in the council held there the following year, that he declared his readiness to embrace and adhere to the doctrines which that venerable assembly should think proper to impose upon his faith. HUMBERT was accordingly appointed unanimously by NICOLAS and the council to draw up a confession of faith for BERENGER, who signed it publicly, and confirmed his adherence to it by a solemn oath. In this confession there was, among other tenets equally absurd, the following declaration, that *the bread and wine, after consecration, were not only a SACRAMENT, but also the REAL BODY AND BLOOD OF JESUS CHRIST; and that this body and blood were handled by the priests and consumed by the faithful, and not in a sacramental sense, but in reality and truth, as other sensible objects are.* This doctrine was so monstrously nonsensical, and was such an impudent insult upon the very first principles of reason, that it could have nothing alluring to a man of BERENGER's acute and philosophical turn, nor could it possibly become the object of his serious belief; as appeared soon after this odious act of dissimulation; for no sooner was he returned into *France*, than taking refuge in the countenance and protection of his ancient patrons, he expressed the utmost detestation and abhorrence of the doctrines he had been obliged to profess at *Rome*, abjured them solemnly both in his discourse and in his writings, and returned zealously to the profession and defence of his former, which had always been his real opinion. ALEXANDER II employed the seducing influence of soft and friendly expostulation to engage BERENGER to dissemble anew, or, in other words, to return from his pretended apostasy; but his remonstrances were ineffectual, and that perhaps in a great measure, because this rebellious son of a superstitious church was powerfully supported in the maintenance of his opinions. Hence the controversy was prolonged, during many years, by a multitude of writings on both sides of

of the question, and the followers of BERENGER increased from day to day.

XVI. GREGORY VII, whose enterprising spirit no difficulties nor oppositions could discourage, was no sooner raised to the pontificate than he undertook to terminate this important controversy, and, for that purpose, sent an order to BERENGER, in the year 1078, to repair to *Rome*. Considering the natural character of this pontif, his conduct in this affair was highly laudable, and discovered a degree of impartiality and candour, which his proceedings upon other occasions gave little reason to expect. He seems to have had a high esteem for BERENGER; and, in the particular points in which he was obliged to oppose him, he did it, with all possible mildness, and with a tenderness which shewed that he acted rather from a forced compliance with the clamours of his adversaries, than from inclination or principle. In the council that was held at *Rome* towards the conclusion of the year 1078, he permitted BERENGER to draw up a new confession of his faith, and to renounce that which had been composed by HUMBERT, though it had been solemnly approved and confirmed by NICOLAS II and a Roman council. The sagacious pontif perceived clearly the absurdity of HUMBERT's confession, and therefore revoked it, though it had been rendered sacred by papal authority [x]. In consequence of this, the persecuted prelate made a second declaration confirmed by an oath, that he would adhere for the future to the following propositions: *That the bread laid upon the altar became, after consecration, the true body of CHRIST, which was born of the Virgin, suffered on the cross, and now sits at the right-hand of the Father: and that the wine placed upon the altar became, after consecration, the true blood, which flowed from the side of CHRIST.* The pontif was satisfied with this declaration, which was far from producing the same effect upon the enemies of BEREN-

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

[x] It is worthy of observation, that GREGORY VII, whose zeal in extending the jurisdiction and exalting the authority of the Roman pontifs surpassed that of all his predecessors, acknowledged, at least tacitly, by this step, that a pope and council might err, and had erred in effect. How otherwise could he allow BERENGER to renounce a confession of faith, that had been solemnly approved and confirmed by NICOLAS II, and a Roman council?

CENT.
XI.
PART II.

GER ; they shewed that it was ambiguous, and so it was in reality ; and they insisted that BERENGER should be obliged not only to sign another declaration less vague and equivocal, but should also be required to prove his sincerity by the fiery trial. GREGORY refused absolutely this latter demand, and would have equally refused the other, had not his favourable intentions towards BERENGER yielded to the importunate clamours of his enemies and persecutors.

XVII. The pontif, therefore, granted that part of their demand that related to a new declaration, and, in a council held at *Rome* A. D. 1079, had a third confession of faith drawn up, which was somewhat less absurd than the first, though much more harsh than the second, and to which BERENGER, after reading and subscribing it in the midst of the assembly, was obliged to declare his assent by a solemn oath. By this assent, he professed to believe, *That the bread and wine were, by the mysterious influence of the holy prayer, and the words of our Redeemer, substantially changed into the true, proper, and vivifying body and blood of JESUS CHRIST :* and to remove all grounds of suspicion, to dispel all doubt about the reality of his attachment to this ridiculous system, he added to his second confession [y] a solemn declaration, that *the bread and wine, after consecration, were converted into the real body and blood of CHRIST, not only in quality of external signs and sacramental representations, but in their essential properties, and in substantial reality.* No sooner had BERENGER made this strange declaration, than the pontif redoubled the marks of esteem which he had formerly shewn him, and sent him back to his country loaded with the most honourable testimonies of his liberality and friendship. The double-minded doctor did not, however, think himself bound by this declaration, solemn as it was ; and therefore retracted publicly, upon his return to his residence, what he had subscribed as his real sentiments in the council of *Rome*, and went even so far as to compose an elaborate refutation of the doctrine to which he had been engaged to profess his assent. This new change excited a warm and vehement controversy, in which LANFRANC and GUITMUND

[y] Mentioned in the preceding section.

endeavoured

endeavoured to perplex BERENGER with their sophistry, and to overwhelm him with their invectives. GREGORY VII, to whose papal thunder the affronted council looked with impatience, seemed neither surprized nor offended by the inconstancy of BERENGER, nor did he take any step which could testify the smallest mark of resentment against this pretended apostate. From hence it appears more than probable, that the second confession of BERENGER had entirely satisfied that pontif; and that the violent imposition of the third was by no means agreeable to GREGORY, who seems to have adopted, in a great measure, if not wholly, the sentiments of BERENGER [z].

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

[z] A remarkable treatise of BERENGER's composition, which has been published by MARTENE, in his *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. iv. p. 99. 109. will contribute to cast a satisfactory light upon this whole affair, and will fully unfold the real sentiments of GREGORY concerning the eucharist. For from this piece it is undoubtedly evident; 1st, That BERENGER was esteemed and favoured, in a singular manner, by GREGORY VII. 2^{dly}, That this pontif was of the same opinion with BERENGER concerning the eucharist; it is certain, at least, that he was for adhering to the words of scripture in this matter, and was eager in suppressing all curious researches and all positive decisions concerning the manner of CHRIST's presence in the holy sacrament. This appears evidently from the following words, which he addressed to BERENGER before the meeting of the last council of Rome, and in which he speaks of his design to consult the Virgin MARY concerning the conduct which it was proper for him to observe in the course of this controversy: *Ego plane te* (says the pontif in the 108th page of the work, cited in the beginning of this note) *de Christi sacrificio secundum scripturas bene sentire non dubito: tamen quia consuetudinis mihi est, ad B. Mariam de his quæ movent recurrere—imposui religioso cuidam amico—a B. Maria obtinere, ut per eum mihi non taceret, sed verbis commendaret, quorsum me de negotio quod in manibus habebam de Christi sacrificio reciperem, in quo immotus peristerem.* We see here plainly, that GREGORY expresses the strongest propensity to the sentiments of BERENGER, not, however, without some hesitation concerning the manner in which he was to conduct himself, and also concerning the precise doctrine, which it was necessary to embrace in relation to the presence of CHRIST in the eucharist. It was this hesitation which led him to consult the Virgin MARY, whose answer the pontif gives in the following words: *A B. Maria audiuit et ad me retulit, nihil de sacrificio Christi cogitandum, nihil esse tenendum, nisi quod tenerent authenticæ scripturæ, contra quas BERENGARIUS nihil habebat. Hoc tibi manifestare volui, ut securiorem ad nos fiduciam et alacriorem spem habeas.* Here we see an answer of the Virgin pronouncing that it was necessary to adhere to the express declarations of scripture concerning the presence of CHRIST in the sacrament; and whether GREGORY was fanatical

XVIII. Amidst

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.Berenger's
fate, and the
progress of
his doctrine.

XVIII. Amidst the clamours of his incensed adversaries, BERENGER observed a profound silence, and was prudent enough to return no answer to their bitter and repeated invectives. Fatigued with a controversy, in which the first principles of reason were so impudently insulted, and exhausted by an opposition which he was unable to overcome, he abandoned all his worldly concerns, and retired to the isle of *St. Cosme*, in the neighbourhood of *Tours*, where he spent the remainder of his days in fasting, prayer, and pious exercises. In the year 1088, death put an end to the affliction he suffered in his retirement, from a bitter reflection upon the dissimulation he had been guilty of at *Rome*, and to the penitential acts of mortification and

enough to confide in this answer as real, or rogue enough to forge it, it is still certain, that he confined his belief concerning the point in debate to the language of scripture, and held that the true body and blood of CHRIST were exhibited in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, though it was neither necessary nor expedient to enquire into the nature or manner of this mysterious presence. 3dly, It appears manifest from the treatise already mentioned, that the assembling of the second council, and the imposition of another confession of faith upon the conscience of BERENGER, were measures into which GREGORY was forced by the enemies of that ecclesiastic. *Dejectus est*, says BERENGER, speaking of that pontif, *importunitate Paduani scurræ, non episcopi, et Pisani non episcopi, sed antichristi . . . ut permetteret calumniatoribus veritatis in posteriori quadagesimali concilio scriptum a se firmatum in priori mutari*. 4thly, We see here the true reason why GREGORY shewed not the smallest mark of resentment against BERENGER, when, upon his return to his own country, he violated the promise by which he had so solemnly bound himself in the last council, and refuted the confession to which he had sworn his assent. For the pontif was very far from adopting the sentiments of those who had drawn up or suggested that monstrous confession, and esteemed it sufficient to believe with BERENGER, that the body and blood of JESUS CHRIST were exhibited to Christians in the eucharist. Hence he let the violent adversaries of his persecuted friend murmur, scribble, bawl, and refute, while he himself observed a profound silence, and persisted in his resolution to put that unhappy man to no farther trouble. It is, however, proper to observe, that in the same book from whence these particulars are taken, we find BERENGER addressing himself, with the utmost humility, to the divine mercy, for the pardon of the crime of dissimulation and perjury he had committed at *Rome*; and confessing that the fear of death had extorted from him oaths and declarations diametrically opposite to his real sentiments, and engaged him to subscribe to a set of tenets which he abhorred. *Deus omnipotens*, says he, *miserere, fons misericordiarum, tantum sacrilegium agnoscenti*.

austerity,

austerity, to which he seems to have submitted with a designed to expiate the enormity of his criminal compliance, and the guilt of his perjury [a]. He left behind him in the minds of the people a deep impression of his extraordinary sanctity, and his followers were as numerous as his fame was illustrious [b]. There have been disputes among the learned about the real sentiments of this eminent man: yet, notwithstanding the art which he sometimes used to conceal his opinions, and the ambiguity that is often remarkable in his expressions, whoever examines with impartiality and attention such of his writings as are yet extant, will immediately perceive, that he looked upon the bread and wine in the sacrament as no more than the signs or symbols of the body and blood of the divine Saviour [c]. In this opinion BERENGER persevered to the last, nor have we any authentic proof of his having

[a] This will appear evident to such as peruse the treatise of his composition, which we have mentioned in the preceding note, as published in MARTENE's *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. iv. p. 109.

[b] The canons of the cathedral of *Tours* continue to honour the memory of BERENGER by an annual procession, in which they perform a solemn service at his tomb in the isle of *St. Cosme*. See MOLEON, *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 130.

[c] MABILLON and other Roman catholic writers, as also a few Luerthan divines, are of opinion, that BERENGER denied only the doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, while he maintained, at the same time, the real presence of the body and blood of CHRIST in the eucharist. And this opinion will, indeed, appear plausible to such as consider only the declaration he signed in the first council at *Rome*, to which he was summoned by GREGORY VII, and which he never retracted, without comparing this declaration with the rest of his writings. On the other hand, USHER, BASNAGE, and almost all the writers of the reformed church maintain, that the doctrine of BERENGER was exactly the same with that which CALVIN afterwards adopted; and I cannot help joining with them in this opinion, when I peruse attentively the following words of his *Letter to ALMANNUS*, published in MARTENE's *Thesaur.* tom. iv. p. 109. *Constat*, says BERENGER in express terms, *verum Christi corpus in ipsa mensa proponi, SED SPIRITUALITER INTERIORI HOMINI VERUM in ea Christi corpus ab his duntaxat, qui Christi membra sunt, incorruptum, intaminatum, inattritumque SPIRITUALITER MANDUCARI*. These words demonstrate so clearly, that, by the presence of CHRIST's body in the eucharist, BERENGER meant no more than a *spiritual presence*, that they dispel all doubt about his real sentiments, though, upon other occasions, he concealed these sentiments under dubious expressions, to deceive his adversaries.

C E N T. departed from it before his death, as some of the Roman
 XI. catholic writers vainly pretend [*d*].
 PART II.

[*d*] It is well known what laborious efforts the Roman catholic writers have employed to persuade us, that BERENGER, before his death, abandoned the opinion he had so long and so warmly defended, and returned to the doctrine of the church of *Rome* concerning the corporal presence of CHRIST in the eucharist. But when we enquire into the reasons on which this assertion is founded, we shall immediately perceive their weakness and insufficiency. They alledge, in the first place, that BERENGER gave an account of his doctrine and belief in the council of *Bourdeaux*, A. D. 1087; and add to this, that the ancient writers applaud his penitential sentiments, and affirm that he died in the catholic faith. In all this, however, we see no proof of BERENGER's retractation. He adhered, indeed, to the confession of faith, which he had subscribed and adopted in the first of the two Roman councils, to which he had been summoned by GREGORY VII, and which that pontif judged sufficient to clear him from the imputation of heresy; and they, who confined their attention to the *literal sense* of the words of that confession, without considering their *spirit*, and the different meanings of which they were susceptible, might easily imagine that BERENGER's confession was agreeable to the doctrine of the church. GREGORY, in order to pacify matters, confirmed them in this notion; and though he was well informed of BERENGER's having retracted the confession which he had signed in the last Roman council before which he appeared, and of his opposing, with the utmost warmth, the opinion he had there so solemnly professed, yet he let the inconstant doctor remain unmolested, and thereby tacitly acquitted him of the crime and the error that were laid to his charge.

It is of the utmost importance to observe here, that the Roman church was not come, in this century, to a fixed determination concerning the *nature* and *manner* of CHRIST's presence in the eucharist. This appears most evidently from the three confessions which BERENGER signed by the order of three councils, which confessions differed from each other, not only in the terms and the turn of expression, but also in the opinions and doctrines they contained. Pope NICOLAS II, and the council he assembled at *Rome* A. D. 1059, obliged him to subscribe, as the true and orthodox doctrine of the church, the first of these confessions, which was composed by Cardinal HUMBERT. This confession was, however, rejected, not only as harsh in point of expression, but also as erroneous and unsound, by GREGORY and the two Roman councils, which he had expressly summoned to enquire into that matter; for had HUMBERT's declaration appeared to the pontif to be a just expression of the doctrine and sense of the church concerning the eucharist, neither he nor the succeeding councils would have permitted other forms of doctrine to be substituted in its place. GREGORY, as we have already seen, was of opinion, that it was highly improper to pry with too much curiosity into the mysteries of the eucharist, and that, laying aside all disputes concerning the *manner* of CHRIST's presence in that holy institution, it was safest to adhere to the plain words of scripture; and as this was also the opinion of BERENGER, and was plainly expressed

XIX. It is not rare to find in the history of the church the most trifling objects exciting the warmest and most vehement controversies. Such was the dispute that arose in France, in the year 1023, between the priests and monks of Limoges, concerning the place that was to be assigned in the public liturgy to MARTIAL, the first bishop of that diocese. One party headed by JORDAN, bishop of Limoges, were for placing him among the *confessors*; while HUGO, abbot of the monastery of St. Martial, maintained, that the prelate in question was to be ranked among the *apostles*,

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

A contro-
versy con-
cerning
Martial.

in his confession of faith; the judicious pontif pronounced him innocent. But a following council departed from this equitable sentence of GREGORY, who, though with much reluctance, was induced to confirm their rigorous decisions; and hence arose a third confession, which was extremely different from the two preceding ones. We may remark by the by, that in this controversy the councils seem plainly to have swayed the pontifs, since we see the obstinate, the invincible GREGORY yielding, against his will, to one of these clamorous assemblies. BERENGER had no sooner got out of the hands of his enemies, than he returned to the second confession, which the pontif had approved, and publicly declaimed against that which had been imposed upon him in the last Roman council before which he had appeared, without receiving the least mark of disapprobation from GREGORY. From this it was natural to conclude, that, although he opposed the decree of that council, he adopted nevertheless the opinion of the pope and of the church.

In the account which I have here given of this memorable controversy, I have not only consulted the ancient records relating to that matter, which have been made public (for several of them lie as yet in MSS in the cabinets of the curious) but have also been assisted by the labours of those among the learned, who have treated that important branch of Ecclesiastical History in the most ample and accurate manner: such as first, FRANC. DE ROYE's book, published at Angers in the year 1656; *Ad Can. Ego Berengarius 41. de consecrat. distinct.* 2. *Ubi vita, hæresis, et pœnitentia Berengarii Andegavenfis Archidiaconi, et ad Josephi locum de Christo* (a book which is extremely curious, and very little known). MABILLON's *Præfat.* ad tom. ix. *Act. SS. Ord. Bened. Seu Sac. vi. part II. p. 4. et Dissert. de multiplici damnatione, fidei professione et lapsu*, which is published in his *Analecæta veteris ævi*, tom. ii. p. 456. DE BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 404. tom. ii. p. 452. The authors of the reformed church, which I have followed in this controversy, are, USSERIUS, *De successionē Ecclesiar. Christianar. in occidente*, cap. vii. § 24. p. 195.—BASNAGE, *Hist. des Eglises Reformées*, tom. i. p. 105. et *Hist. de l'Eglise*, tom. ii. p. 1391.—CAS. OUDIN. *Dissert. de Doctrina et Scriptis Berengarii in Comment. de Scriptor. Ecclesiast.* tom. ii. p. 624. There appears more or less a certain spirit of partiality in all these writers; but this spirit is particularly notorious among those of the church of Rome.

C E N T.
 XI.
 P A R T II.

and branded, with the opprobrious and heretical title of *Ebionites*, all such as adhered to the proposal of JORDAN. This *momentous* affair was debated first, in a council held at *Poitiers* in the year 1023, and in another assembled at *Paris* the year following, in which latter it was determined, that MARTIAL was to be honoured with the title of an *apostle*, and that all who refused him this eminent rank were to be considered as *Ebionites*, who, as is well known, confined the number of the apostles to twelve, that they might exclude St. PAUL from that sacred order. The decree, however, of this council did not produce the effects that were expected from it; for it exasperated instead of calming the zeal and animosity of the contending parties, so that this miserable dispute became daily more universal, and spread like a contagion through all the provinces of *France*. The matter was, at length, brought before the tribunal of the Roman pontif, JOHN XIX, who decided it in favour of the monks, and, in a letter addressed to JORDAN and the other bishops of the nation, pronounced MARTIAL worthy of the title and honours of an apostle. This decision produced the most substantial and permanent effects: for in a council assembled at *Limoges* A. D. 1029, JORDAN declared his acquiescence in the papal sentence; in a provincial council at *Bourges*, two years after, MARTIAL was associated to the company of the apostles with great solemnity in consequence of the decision of the Roman see, and about the same time this controversy was completely and finally terminated in a numerous council assembled at *Limoges*, in which the prayers that had been consecrated to the memory of the apostle MARTIAL by the zealous pontif were publicly recited [e]. The warm

[e] See BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 372. 101.— J. LONGEVAL, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. vii. p. 188, 189. 231.—The Benedictine monks, in their *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. *Append. Documentor.* p. 162. have published the *Letter of JORDAN to Pope BENEDICT VIII, against the Apostleship of MARTIAL*. The decrees of the councils of *Bourges* and *Limoges* concerning this matter are published by LABBE, in his *Biblioth. Nova Manuscriptor.* tom. ii. p. 766. MABILLON has given an ample account of ADEMAR, a monk of *St. Cybar*, the first promoter of this ridiculous controversy, in his *Annal. Ord. S. Benedict.* tom. iv. p. 318. and, among the original papers subjoined to that volume, has published a letter wrote by that monk in favour of the apostleship of MARTIAL. See also the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. vii. p. 301.

contenders for the apostleship of MARTIAL, asserted that he was one of the seventy disciples of CHRIST, from whence they concluded that he had an equal title with PAUL and BARNABAS to the honour of an apostle.

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

C H A P. IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the church during this century.

I. **T**H E form of public worship, which was established at *Rome*, had not, as yet, been universally received in the western provinces. This was looked upon by the imperious pontifs as an insult upon their authority, and therefore they used their utmost efforts to introduce the Roman ceremonies every where, and to promote a perfect uniformity of worship in every part of the Latin world. GREGORY VII employed all his diligence, activity, and zeal in this enterprize, as appears from several passages in his letters, and he perhaps alone was equal to the execution of such an arduous attempt. The Spaniards had long distinguished themselves above all other nations by the noble and resolute resistance they made to the despotic attempts of the popes upon this occasion; for they adhered to their ancient *Gothic* liturgy [f] with the utmost obstinacy, and could not be brought to change it for the method of worship established at *Rome*. ALEXANDER II had indeed proceeded so far, in the year 1068, as to persuade the inhabitants of *Arragon* into his measures [g], and to conquer the aversion which the Catalonians had discovered for the Roman worship. But the honour of finishing this difficult work, and bringing it to perfection, was reserved for GREGORY VII, who, without interruption, exhorted, threatened, admonished, and intreated SANCIUS and ALPHONSO, the kings of *Arragon* and *Castile*, until, fatigued with the importunity of this restless pontif, they consented to abolish the Gothic service in their

[f] See MABILLON, *De Liturgia Gallicana*, lib. i. cap. ii. p. 10.

[g] O. BONA, *Rerum Liturgicarum*, lib. i. cap. xi. p. 220. opp.—

PETR. LE BRUN, *Explication des Ceremonies de la Messe*, tom. ii. Diff. v. p. 272.

[g] PETR. DE MARCA, *Histoire de Bearn*, liv. ii. cap. ix.

CENT.
XI.
PART II.

churches, and to introduce the Roman in its place. SANCUS was the first, who complied with the request of the pontif, and, in the year 1080, his example was followed by ALPHONSO. The methods which the nobles of *Castile* employed to decide the matter were very extraordinary. First, they chose two champions, who were to determine the controversy by single combat, the one fighting for the Roman liturgy, the other for the Gothic. This first trial ended in favour of the latter; for the Gothic hero proved victorious. The fiery trial was next made use of to terminate the dispute; the Roman and Gothic liturgies were committed to the flames, which, as the story goes, consumed the former, while the latter remained unblemished and entire. Thus were the Gothic rites crowned with a double victory, which, however, was not sufficient to maintain them against the authority of the pope, and the influence of the queen CONSTANTIA, who determined ALPHONSO in favour of the Roman service [b].

Divine worship performed in an unknown and foreign tongue.

II. The zeal of the Roman pontifs for introducing an uniformity of worship into the western churches may be, in some measure, justified; but their not permitting every nation to celebrate divine worship in their mother tongue was absolutely inexcusable. While, indeed, the Latin language was in general use among the western nations, or, at least, was unknown to but a very small number, there was no reason why it should not be employed in the public service of the church. But when the decline of the Roman empire drew on by degrees the extinction of its language in several places, and its decay in all the western provinces, it became just and reasonable that each people should serve the Deity in the language they understood, and which was peculiar to them. This reasoning, however evident and striking, had no sort of influence upon the Roman pontifs, who, neither in this nor in the following centuries, could be persuaded to change the established custom, but persisted, on the contrary, with the most senseless obstinacy, in retaining the use of the Latin lan-

[b] BONA, *Rerum Liturgicar.* lib. i. cap. xi. p. 216.—LE BRUN, *loc. citat.* p. 292.—JO. DE FERRERAS, *Hist. de l'Espagne*, tom. iii. p. 237. 241. 246.

guage in the celebration of divine worship, even when it was no longer understood by the people [i]. This strange conduct has been variously accounted for by different writers, who have tortured their inventions to find out its secret reasons, and have imagined many that seem extremely improbable and far fetched. A superstitious and extravagant veneration for whatever carried the hoary aspect of a remote antiquity, was undoubtedly the principal reason that rendered the pontiffs unwilling to abolish the use of the Latin language in the celebration of divine worship. The same absurd principle produced a similar effect in the eastern churches; thus the Egyptian Christians perform their religious service in the language of the ancient Copts, the Jacobites and the Nestorians in the Syriac, and the Abyssinians in the old Æthiopic, though all these languages have been long since obsolete, and are thereby become absolutely unintelligible to the multitude [k].

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

III. It would be tedious to enumerate in a circumstantial manner the new inventions that were imposed upon Christians, in this century, under the specious titles of piety and zeal, by the superstitious despotism of an imperious clergy. It would be also endless to mention the additions that were made to former inventions, the multiplication, for example, of the rites and ceremonies that were used in the worship of saints, relics, and images, and the new directions that were administered to such as undertook pilgrimages, or other superstitious services of that nature. We shall only observe, that, during the whole of this century, all the European nations were most diligently employed in rebuilding, repairing, and adorning their churches [l]. Nor will this appear surprizing when we consider, that, in the preceding century, all Europe was alarmed with a dismal apprehension that the day of judgment was at hand, and that the world was approaching to its final dissolution; for, among the other effects of

Ceremonies
multiplied,

[i] USSERIUS, *Historia Dogmatica de Scripturis et Sacris Vernaculis* ab HEN. WHARTONO edita et aucta, Londini 1690, in 4to.

[k] See EUSEB. KENAUDOT, *Dissertat. de Liturgiis Orientalibus*, origine et antiquitate, cap. vi. p. 40.

[l] GLABER RODULPHUS, *Hist. lib. iii. cap. iv.* in DUCHESNE'S *Scriptor. Franc.* tom. iv. p. 217. *Infra millesimum tertio jam fere imminente anno contigit in universo pæne terrarum orbe, præcipue tamen in Italia et in Galliis, innovari Ecclesiarum basilicas.*

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

this panic terror, the churches and monasteries were suffered to fall into ruin, or at least to remain without repair from a notion that they would soon be involved in the general fate of all sublunary things. But when these apprehensions were removed, things immediately put on a new face; the tottering temples were rebuilt, and the greatest zeal, attended with the richest and most liberal donations, was employed in restoring the sacred edifices to their former lustre, or rather in giving them new degrees of magnificence and beauty.

C H A P. V.

Concerning the heresies and divisions that troubled the church, during this Century.

Ancient
sects.

Manichæ-
ans,

I. **T**HE state of the ancient sects, and particularly of the Nestorians and Monophysites, who resided in *Asia* and *Egypt* under the Mahometan government, was now much the same that it had been in the preceding century, neither extremely prosperous, nor absolutely miserable. The case of the Manichæans, or Paulicians, whom the Grecian emperors had banished from the eastern provinces into *Bulgaria* and *Thrace*, was much more unhappy, on account of the perpetual conflicts they had to sustain with the Greeks, who persecuted and oppressed them with much keenness and animosity. The Greeks, as usually happens upon like occasions, laid the blame of their violent measures upon the Manichæans, whom they represented as a turbulent, perfidious, and sanguinary faction, and as the declared and inveterate enemies of the Grecian empire [m]. This, however, is by no means to be received as an impartial state of the case; at least, it appears from many circumstances, that if the Manichæans were exasperated against the Greeks, their resentment was owing to the violent and injurious treatment they had received from them. The Grecian pontiffs and clergy were far from being destitute of the odious spirit of persecution, and it is

[m] ANNA COMNENA *Alexiados*, lib. v. p. 105. lib. vi. p. 124. 126. 145.

certain that the emperors, instigated and set on by them, had exhausted the patience of the Paulicians by repeated cruelties and vexations, and alienated their affections by inflicting upon them, without interruption, a variety of punishments, such as banishment, confiscation of goods, and other such marks of severity and violence.

ALEXIUS COMNENUS, who, by his learning, was an ornament to the imperial scepter, perceiving that the Manichæans were not to be vanquished, without the greatest difficulty, by the force of arms, and observing also that their numbers increased from day to day both in *Thrace* and in the adjacent provinces, had recourse to the power of reason and argument to conquer their obstinacy, and spent whole days at *Philippopolis*, in disputing with the principal doctors of that pernicious sect. Many of them yielded to the victorious arguments of this royal disputant, and his learned associates; nor is this to be so much wondered at, since their demonstrations were accompanied and enforced by rewards and punishments. Such of the Manichæans, as retracted their errors and returned to the bosom of the Greek church, were loaded with gifts, honours, and privileges, according to their respective stations, while such as stood firm against the reasoning of the emperor, were inhumanly condemned to perpetual imprisonment [n].

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

II. Many of the Paulicians, either from a principle of zeal for the propagation of their opinions, or from a desire of getting rid of the persecution and oppression they suffered under the Grecian yoke, retired from *Bulgaria* and *Thrace*, and formed settlements in other countries. Their first migration was into *Italy*; from whence, in process of time, they sent colonies into almost all the other provinces of *Europe*, and formed gradually a considerable number of religious assemblies, who adhered to their doctrine, and who were afterwards persecuted with the utmost vehemence by the Roman pontiffs [o]. It is difficult to fix the precise

An account
of the Pau-
licians in
Europe.

[n] There is an ample and circumstantial account of this controversy between the emperor and the Manichæans in the work mentioned in the preceding note, *lib. xiv. p. 357*.

[o] See LUD. ANT. MURATORI *Antiquitat. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 83.—LIMBORCH, *Historia Inquisitionis*, p. 31.—THOM. AUG.
period

C E N T.
 XI.
 P A R T II.

this panic terror, the churches and monasteries were suffered to fall into ruin, or at least to remain without repair from a notion that they would soon be involved in the general fate of all sublunary things. But when these apprehensions were removed, things immediately put on a new face; the tottering temples were rebuilt, and the greatest zeal, attended with the richest and most liberal donations, was employed in restoring the sacred edifices to their former lustre, or rather in giving them new degrees of magnificence and beauty.

C H A P. V.

Concerning the heresies and divisions that troubled the church, during this Century.

Ancient
 sects.

Manichæ-
 ans,

I. **T**HE state of the ancient sects, and particularly of the Nestorians and Monophysites, who resided in *Asia* and *Egypt* under the Mahometan government, was now much the same that it had been in the preceding century, neither extremely prosperous, nor absolutely miserable. The case of the Manichæans, or Paulicians, whom the Grecian emperors had banished from the eastern provinces into *Bulgaria* and *Thrace*, was much more unhappy, on account of the perpetual conflicts they had to sustain with the Greeks, who persecuted and oppressed them with much keenness and animosity. The Greeks, as usually happens upon like occasions, laid the blame of their violent measures upon the Manichæans, whom they represented as a turbulent, perfidious, and sanguinary faction, and as the declared and inveterate enemies of the Grecian empire [m]. This, however, is by no means to be received as an impartial state of the case; at least, it appears from many circumstances, that if the Manichæans were exasperated against the Greeks, their resentment was owing to the violent and injurious treatment they had received from them. The Grecian pontiffs and clergy were far from being destitute of the odious spirit of persecution, and it is

[m] ANNA COMNENA *Alexiados*, lib. v. p. 105. lib. vi. p. 124. 126. 145.

certain

certain that the emperors, instigated and set on by them, had exhausted the patience of the Paulicians by repeated cruelties and vexations, and alienated their affections by inflicting upon them, without interruption, a variety of punishments, such as banishment, confiscation of goods, and other such marks of severity and violence.

ALEXIUS COMNENUS, who, by his learning, was an ornament to the imperial scepter, perceiving that the Manichæans were not to be vanquished, without the greatest difficulty, by the force of arms, and observing also that their numbers increased from day to day both in *Thrace* and in the adjacent provinces, had recourse to the power of reason and argument to conquer their obstinacy, and spent whole days at *Philippopolis*, in disputing with the principal doctors of that pernicious sect. Many of them yielded to the victorious arguments of this royal disputant, and his learned associates; nor is this to be so much wondered at, since their demonstrations were accompanied and enforced by rewards and punishments. Such of the Manichæans, as retracted their errors and returned to the bosom of the Greek church, were loaded with gifts, honours, and privileges, according to their respective stations, while such as stood firm against the reasoning of the emperor, were inhumanly condemned to perpetual imprisonment [n].

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

An account
of the Pau-
licians in
Europe.

II. Many of the Paulicians, either from a principle of zeal for the propagation of their opinions, or from a desire of getting rid of the persecution and oppression they suffered under the Grecian yoke, retired from *Bulgaria* and *Thrace*, and formed settlements in other countries. Their first migration was into *Italy*; from whence, in process of time, they sent colonies into almost all the other provinces of *Europe*, and formed gradually a considerable number of religious assemblies, who adhered to their doctrine, and who were afterwards persecuted with the utmost vehemence by the Roman pontiffs [o]. It is difficult to fix the precise

[n] There is an ample and circumstantial account of this controversy between the emperor and the Manichæans in the work mentioned in the preceding note, *lib. xiv. p. 357*.

[o] See LUD. ANT. MURATORI *Antiquitat. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 83.—LIMBORCH, *Historia Inquisitionis*, p. 31.—THOM. AUG.

period

C E N T.
XI.
PART II.

period of time, when the Paulicians began to take refuge in *Europe*; it is, however, undoubtedly certain from the most authentic testimonies, that a considerable number of that sect were, about the middle of this century, settled in *Lombardy*, *Insubria*, and principally at *Milan*; and that many of them led a wandering life in *France*, *Germany*, and other countries, where they captivated the esteem and admiration of the multitude, by their sanctimonious looks, and the uncommon air of piety, which they put on with much affectation. In *Italy* they were called *Paterini* and *Cathari*, or rather *Gazari*, which latter appellation the Germans have preserved, with a small alteration only, which was proper to adapt it to the genius of their language [p]. In *France* they were called *Albigenses*, from

RICHINII *Dissertatio de Catharis*, which is prefixed to the *Summa B. MONETÆ contra Catharos*, p. 17, 18. We might also refer upon this occasion to GLABR. RODULPH *Histor.* lib. iii. cap. viii. to MATTH. PARIS, and other ancient writers. Certain Italian authors, and among others RICHINI, seem unwilling to acknowledge, that the Paulicians arrived first in *Italy*, and proceeded from thence into the other provinces of *Europe*; and maintain, on the contrary, that their first settlement was in *France*, and that from thence they came into *Italy*. These writers look upon it as ignominious to their country, to be considered as the first European nation which fostered such a pernicious and impious sect in its bosom. Be that as it may, their hypothesis is favoured by PETR. DE MARCA himself, a Frenchman, who, in his *Histoire de Bearn*, livr. viii. cap. xiv. p. 728. declares it as his opinion, that the Paulicians joined themselves to the Gallic armies, that returned from the holy war in *Palestine*, by the province of *Bulgaria*, and were thus conducted into *France*. But that learned author alledges no proof to support this opinion: it appears, on the contrary, from the records of the *Inquisition of Thoulouse*, published by LIMBORCH, and from other authentic pieces, that the Paulicians settled first in *Sicily*, *Lombardy*, *Liguria*, and the *Milanese*, and sent from thence their doctors and missionaries into *France*. See the *Codex Tolosanus*, p. 13, 14. 32. 68, 69. & *passim*. We learn also from the *Code of Thoulouse*, that the French Paulicians, who were called *Albigenses*, had no bishop to consecrate their *Anciani* (such was the title they gave to their presbyters) so that such of them as were desirous of being placed in the order of presbyters, were obliged to repair to *Italy* in order to their being regularly installed.

[p] The title of *Paterini*, which was given to this sect in *Italy*, has been already explained in the second Chapter, of the second Part of this Century, Sect. 13, Note [r]. As to the term *Catharus*, it was, undoubtedly, when applied to the Paulicians, the same with *Gazarus*, as I have elsewhere demonstrated. See *Histor. Ord. Apostol.* p. 367. The country, which bore, in this century, the name of *Gazaria*, was what we now call the *Lesser Tartary*.

the

the town of *Alby*, in the upper *Languedoc*, in Latin *Albigia* [q]. They were likewise called *Bulgarians*, in *France*, because they came from *Bulgaria*, and because the head of their sect resided in that country; as also *Publicans*, which was probably a corrupt pronounciation of *Paulicians*, and *boni homines* or *good men*, with several other titles and epithets [r].

III. The first religious assembly which the Paulicians had formed in *Europe* is said to have been discovered at *Orleans*, in the year 1017, under the reign of ROBERT. A certain Italian lady is said to have been at the head of this sect; its principal members were twelve canons of the cathedral of *Orleans*, men eminently distinguished by their piety and learning, among whom LISOSIUS and STEPHEN held the first rank; and it was composed, in general, of a considerable number of citizens, who were far from being of the meanest condition. The impious doctrines, professed by these canons, were discovered by a certain priest named HERIBERT, and by ARIFASTUS, a Norman nobleman, upon which ROBERT assembled a

The Manichæans of *Orleans* seem to have been Mystics.

[q] That the Paulicians were called *Albigenses* in *France*, and were a sect entirely distinct from the *Waldenses* and other heretics, appears evidently from the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanae*, already mentioned. They received this name from a town in *Aquitain*, called *Albigia*, or *Alby*, where their errors were condemned in a council held in the year 1176. See CHATEL, *Memoires de l'Histoire de Languedoc*, p. 305. It is, therefore, a mistake to consider the *Albigenses*, as a sect so called from *Alby's* being the place of their birth, their residence, or the seat of their principal assembly: since that name was given them for no other reason than their having been condemned in a council held in that town. There were, indeed, several Paulicians among the various sects of dissenters from the church of *Rome*, that inhabited the country about *Alby*; and it is also true, that the title of *Albigenses* is usually extended to all the heretics, of whatever sect or denomination they were, who dwelt in these parts.

[r] The learned DU FRESNE, in his *Glossarium Latin. medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 1338. has proved in an ample manner, that the Paulicians were called, in *France*, *Bulgares*, and, by a corrupt pronounciation of that word, *Bougres*. The same author, in his *Observationes ad Villeharduini Historiam Constantinopolit.* p. 169. has fully demonstrated, that the names *Popolicani* and *Publicani*, that were imposed upon these Manichæans, were no more than a corruption of the term *Pauliciani* ill-pronounced. The appellation of *Boni Homines*, or *Los bos Homes*, as the southern French spoke at that time, was a title which the Paulicians attributed to themselves. See the *Codex Inquisit. Tolosanae*, p. 22. 84. 95, &c. and more especially p. 131.

council

CENT.
XI.
PART II.

C E N T.
XI.
PART II.

council at *Orleans*, and employed the most effectual methods that could be thought of to bring these heretics to a better mind. But all his endeavours were to no purpose; this pernicious sect adhered obstinately to their principles, and hence they were at length condemned to be burnt alive [s].

It is difficult to come to a fixed determination with respect to the character and doctrine of these people; for when we examine matters attentively we find, that even their enemies acknowledged the sincerity of their piety; that they were blackened by accusations which were evidently false; and that the opinions for which they were punished differ widely from the Manichæan system [t]. As far as we can see into the case, it appears to us, that these pretended Manichæans of *Orleans* were a set of *Mystics*, who looked with contempt upon all external worship, rejected all rites and ceremonies, and even the Christian sacraments, as destitute of any, even the least spiritual efficacy or virtue, placed the whole of religion in the internal contemplation of God, and the elevation of the soul to divine and celestial things, and in their philosophical speculations concerning God, the trinity, and the human soul, soared above the comprehension of the age in which they lived. A like set of men proceeded in vast numbers out of *Italy* in the following ages, spread like an inundation through all the European provinces, and were known in *Germany* under the name of the *Brethren of the free spirit*, while they were distinguished in other countries by the appellation of *Beghards* [u].

[s] The accounts that the ancient writers have given of these heretics are collected by BOULAY, in his *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 364.—CHARL. PLESSIS D'ARGENTRE, *Collection. judicior. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 5.—JO. LAUNOY, *De Scholis Celebrioribus Caroli Magni*, cap. xxiv. p. 90.—The history of the synod of *Orleans*, in which this sect was condemned, is given by LUC. DACHERIUS, in his *Spicileg. Veter. Scriptor.* tom. i. p. 604.

[t] BASNAGE, in his *Histoire des Eglises Reformées*, tom. i. period. iv. p. 97. and in his *Hist. de l'Eglise*, tom. ii. p. 1388. pleads the cause of the canons of *Orleans*; but this learned and worthy man seems to have been carried too far by his zeal for augmenting the number of those who have been martyrs to the truth.

[u] We shall have occasion to give a fuller account of these fanatics in the history of the thirteenth century, in which they were first drawn from their obscurity, and condemned in many councils, especially

IV. W

IV. We find in history another branch of this numerous sect, whose errors were not accompanied with the crimes that were laid to the charge of their brethren, and who were converted by a pathetic discourse that was addressed to them by GERHARD, bishop of *Cambray* and *Arras*, in an assembly of the clergy, that was held in the last of these two cities, A. D. 1030. These honest *My-
stics*, who were equally remarkable for their docility and their ignorance, had received the doctrine they professed from the Italians, and particularly from a certain chimerical doctor, whose name was GUNDULF. They maintained in general, according to their own confession, that the whole of religion consisted in the study of practical piety and in a course of action conformable to the divine laws, and treated all external modes of worship with the utmost contempt. Their particular tenets may be reduced to the following heads: 1. They rejected baptism, and, in a more especial manner, the baptism of infants, as a ceremony that was in no respect essential to salvation. 2. They rejected, for the same reason, the sacrament of the Lord's supper. 3. They denied, that the churches were endowed with a greater degree of sanctity than private houses, or that they were more adapted to the worship of God than any other place. 4. They affirmed, that the altars were to be considered in no other light, than as heaps of stones, and were therefore unworthy of any marks of veneration or regard. 5. They disapproved of the use of incense and consecrated oil in services of a religious nature. 6. They looked upon the use of bells in the churches, as an intolerable superstition. 7. They denied, that the establishment of bishops, presbyters, deacons, and other ecclesiastical dignities, was of divine institution, and went so far as to maintain that the appointment of stated ministers in the church was entirely needless. 8. They affirmed, that the institution of funeral rites was an effect of sacerdotal avarice, and that it was a

cially in *Germany*. It is, however, certain, that they had a clandestine existence long before that period, and that they propagated their tenets secretly in several places. Their doctrine resembles, in some particulars, that of Manichæans; and hence it was natural for the ignorant divines of the age in which they lived, to consider them as a branch of that pernicious sect.

matter

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

matter of indifference whether the dead were buried in the churches, or in the fields. 9. They looked upon those voluntary punishments, called *pennance*, which were so generally practised in this century, as unprofitable and absurd. 10. They denied, that the sins of departed spirits could be, in any measure, atoned for, by the celebration of *masses*, the distribution of alms to the poor, or a *vicarious pennance* [w]; and they treated, of consequence, the doctrine of purgatory, as a ridiculous fable. 11. They considered marriage as a pernicious institution, and absurdly condemned without distinction all connubial bonds [x]. 12. They looked upon a certain sort of veneration and worship as due to the *apostles* and *martyrs*, from which however, they excluded such as were only *confessors*, in which class they comprehended the *saints*, who had not suffered death for the cause of CHRIST, and whose bodies in their esteem, had nothing more sacred than any other human carcase. 13. They declared the use of instrumental music in the churches, and other religious assemblies superstitious and unlawful. 14. They denied, that the cross on which CHRIST suffered was in any respect more sacred than other kinds of wood, and, of consequence, refused to pay to it the smallest degree of religious worship. 15. They not only refused all acts of adoration to the images of CHRIST, and of the saints, but were also for having them removed out of the churches. 16. They were shocked at the subordination and distinctions that were established among the clergy, and at the different degrees of authority that were conferred upon the different members of that sacred body [y].

When we consider the corrupt state of religion in this century, and particularly, the superstitious notions that were generally adopted in relation to outward ceremonies

[w] By a *vicarious pennance* is understood the course of mortification and voluntary suffering, that one person undergoes in order to procure absolution for another.

[x] This eleventh article is scarcely credible, at least, as it is here expressed. It is more reasonable to suppose that these Mystics did not absolutely condemn marriage, but only held celibacy in higher esteem, as a mark of superior sanctity and virtue.

[y] See an account of the synod of Arras in DACHERIUS, *Spicilegium Scriptor. Veter.* tom. i. p. 607—624.—CAR. PLESSIS D'ARRENTRE, *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 7.

the efficacy of penance and the sanctity of churches, relics, and images, it will not appear surprizing, that many persons of good sense and solid piety, running from one extreme to another, fell into the opinions of these Mystics, in which, among several absurdities, there were many things plausible and specious, and some highly rational.

V. A controversy, of a much more subtle and difficult nature, arose in *France*, about the year 1089; and had for its principal author ROSCELLINUS, a canon of *Compeigne*, a profound dialectician, and the most eminent doctor of the sect called *Nominalists*, which we have already had occasion to mention in the course of this history. This subtle doctor held it inconceivable and impossible, that the Son of God should take on the human nature alone, *i. e.* without the Father and the Holy Ghost becoming incarnate also, unless by the three persons in the godhead were meant three distinct *objects*, or natures existing separately (such as three angels, or three distinct spirits) though endowed with one will, and acting by one power. When it was insinuated to ROSCELLINUS, that this manner of reasoning led directly to *Tritheism*, or the doctrine of three gods, he answered boldly: that the existence of three gods might be asserted with truth [*z*], were not the expression

The controversy set on foot by Roscellinus.

[*z*] Such is the account given by JOHN, the accuser of this metaphysical ecclesiastic, in a letter to ANSELM, archbishop of *Canterbury*, published by BALUZIUS, in his *Miscellanea*, tom. iv. p. 478. The same account is confirmed by ANSELM himself, in the book *De Fide Trinitatis*, which he wrote against ROSCELLINUS, see *Oper.* tom. i. p. 41. 43. & lib. ii. *Epistolar.* ep. xxxv. p. 335. tom. ii. opp.—And also by FULCO, bishop of *Beauvais*, as may be seen in the second book of the *Epistles* of ANSELM, ep. xli. lib. ii. tom. ii. opp. p. 357.—It must, however, be considered, that the learned men now mentioned were the inveterate enemies of ROSCELLINUS, and that they perhaps comprehended his meaning imperfectly, or perverted it willingly. Several circumstances prove that some of his adversaries were in one or the other of these two cases. ANSELM himself furnishes sufficient grounds for this suspicion, since, notwithstanding his aversion to the *Nominalists*, of whom ROSCELLINUS was the chief, he grants, in his book *De Fide Trinitatis*, cap. iii. p. 44. that the opinion of his antagonist may be admitted, or at least tolerated, in a certain sense; and even frequently intimates that he is not perfectly assured of his understanding fully the meaning of ROSCELLINUS, and that he believes the sentiments of that ecclesiastic less pernicious than his accusers have represented them. *Sed forsitan* (says ANSELM) *ipse* (ROSCELLINUS) *non dicit, sicut sunt tres animæ aut tres Angeli: sed ille, qui*

C E N T.
 XI.
 PART II

harsh and contrary to the phraseology generally received. He was, however, obliged to retract this error in a council assembled at *Soissons*, in the year 1092; but he resumed it when the council was dismissed, and the danger over. Persecuted anew on account of his doctrine, he took refuge in *England*, and excited there divisions and contests of another kind, by maintaining, among other things, that persons born out of lawful wedlock ought to be deemed incapable of admission to holy orders. This doctrine, which was by no means suited to the times, procured ROSCELLINUS many enemies, and was in a great measure the occasion of his involuntary removal from *England*. Banished thence, he returned to *France*, and taking up his residence at *Paris*, he fomented again the old dispute concerning the trinity. This, however, succeeded not according to his hopes, but exposed him to much trouble and vexation from the redoubled attacks of his adversaries, who pressed hard on him from all quarters. Fatigued

mibi ejus mandavit questionem, hanc ex suo posuit similitudinem: sed solummodo tres personas affirmat esse tres RES, sine additamento aliqujus similitudinis. The same ANSELM (*Epistolar. lib. ii. ep. xli. p. 357.*) declares, that the account which he had received of the opinions of ROSCELLINUS appears to him extremely dubious, *Quod tamen* (says he) *absque dubietate credere non possum.* From all this it is evident, that ANSELM was far from having an entire confidence in the equity and impartiality of the accusers of ROSCELLINUS, or from looking upon that ecclesiastic as so black, as his enemies had endeavoured to make him.

As to the merits of the cause, it appears manifest to me, that this subtle dispute was a consequence of the warm controversy, that subsisted, in this century, between the *Realists* and the *Nominalists*. The former attacked the latter by the dangerous conclusions that seemed deducible from their principles, and reasoned thus: "If, as your doctrine supposes, *universal substances* are no more than mere *sounds* or *denominations*, and the whole science of logic is only conversant about words, it must of necessity follow, that the three persons in the Godhead, are only three NAMES, and not three REALITIES or THINGS. We deny the conclusion, replied ROSCELLINUS, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are not placed by us in the rank of DENOMINATIONS, but in the class of REALITIES or THINGS. The subtle doctor here, as all must more or less do after him, by avoiding *Scylla*, fell into *Charybdis*, and was charged, by his adversaries, with the introduction of tritheism, by holding an opinion, that supposed the existence of three divine substances. Were any of the writings of ROSCELLINUS now extant, they would help us, no doubt, to form a juster notion of this controversy than we can have at present.

with

with their persecutions, he retired at last to *Aquitain*, where he acquired universal esteem by his eminent piety, and passed the rest of his days in tranquillity and repose [a].

C E N T.
XI.
P A R T II.

[a] BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. i. p. 485. 489.—MABILLON, *Annal. Bened.* tom. v. p. 262.—*Histoire Literaire de la France*, tom. ix. p. 358.—ANTON. PAGI *Critica in Baronium*, ad A. 1094. tom. iv. p. 317.—JACQUES LONGUEVAL, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. viii. p. 59.

THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

PART I.

The External HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the prosperous events that happened to the church during this century.

CENT.
XII.
PART I.

Several of
the northern
provinces
receive the
light of the
gospel.

A CONSIDERABLE part of *Europe* lay yet involved in Pagan darkness, which reigned more especially in the northern provinces. It was, therefore, in these regions of gloomy superstition, that the zeal of the missionaries was principally exerted in this century; though their efforts were not all equally successful, nor the methods they employed for the propagation of the gospel equally prudent. BOLESLAUS, duke of *Poland*, having conquered the Pomeranians, offered them peace upon condition that they would receive the Christian doctors, and permit them to exercise their ministry in that vanquished province. This condition was accepted, and OTHO, bishop of *Bamberg*, a man of eminent piety and zeal, was sent, in the year 1124, to inculcate and explain the doctrines of Christianity among that superstitious and barbarous people. Many were converted to the faith by his ministry, while great numbers stood firm against his most vigorous efforts, and persisted with an invincible obstinacy in the religion of their idolatrous ancestors. Nor was this the only mortification, which that illustrious prelate received in the execution of his pious enterprise.

prize ; for, upon his return into *Germany*, many of those, whom he had engaged in the profession of Christianity, apostatized in his absence, and relapsed into their ancient prejudices ; this obliged OTHO to undertake a second voyage into *Pomerania*, A. D. 1126, in which, after much opposition and difficulty, his labours were crowned with a happier issue, and contributed much to enlarge the bounds of the rising church, and to establish it upon solid foundations [a]. From this period, the Christian religion seemed to acquire daily new degrees of stability among the *Pomeranians* ; who could not be persuaded hitherto to permit the settlement of a bishop among them. They now received ADALBERT, or ALBERT, in that character, who was accordingly the first bishop of *Pomerania*.

II. Of all the northern princes in this century, none appeared with a more distinguished lustre than WALDEMAR I, king of *Denmark*, who acquired an immortal name by the glorious battles he fought against the Pagan nations, such as the *Slavonians*, *Venedi*, *Vandals*, and others, who, either by their incursions or this revolt, drew upon them the weight of his victorious arm. He unsheathed his sword not only for the defence and happiness of his people, but also for the propagation and advancement of Christianity ; and wherever his arms were successful, there he pulled down the temples and images of the gods, destroyed their altars, laid waste their sacred groves, and substituted in their place the Christian worship, which deserved to be propagated by better means than the sword, by the authority of reason rather than by the despotic voice of power. The island of *Rugen*, which lies in the neighbourhood of *Pomerania*, submitted to the victorious arms of WALDEMAR, A. D. 1168 ; and its fierce and savage inhabitants, who were, in reality, no more than a

The Slavonians and inhabitants of the isle of *Rugen*.

[a] See HENR. CANISII *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iii. part II. p. 34. where we find the life of OTHO, who, A. D. 1189, was canonised by CLEMENT III. See the *Acta Sanctor. mensis Julii*, tom. i. p. 349.—DAN. CRAMERI *Chronicon Eccles. Pomeraniæ*, lib. i. as also a learned *Dissertation* concerning the conversion of the *Pomeranians* by the ministry of OTHO, written in the German language by CHRISTOPHER SCHOTGEN, and published at *Stargard* in the year 1724. Add to these, MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 123. 146. 323.

THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

PART I.

The External HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the prosperous events that happened to the church during this century.

CENT.
XII.
PART I.

Several of
the northern
provinces
receive the
light of the
gospel.

A CONSIDERABLE part of *Europe* lay yet involved in Pagan darkness, which reigned more especially in the northern provinces. It was, therefore, in these regions of gloomy superstition, that the zeal of the missionaries was principally exerted in this century; though their efforts were not all equally successful, nor the methods they employed for the propagation of the gospel equally prudent. BOLESLAUS, duke of *Poland*, having conquered the Pomeranians, offered them peace upon condition that they would receive the Christian doctors, and permit them to exercise their ministry in that vanquished province. This condition was accepted, and OTHO, bishop of *Bamberg*, a man of eminent piety and zeal, was sent, in the year 1124, to inculcate and explain the doctrines of Christianity among that superstitious and barbarous people. Many were converted to the faith by his ministry, while great numbers stood firm against his most vigorous efforts, and persisted with an invincible obstinacy in the religion of their idolatrous ancestors. Nor was this the only mortification, which that illustrious prelate received in the execution of his pious enter-

prize ; for, upon his return into *Germany*, many of those, whom he had engaged in the profession of Christianity, apostatized in his absence, and relapsed into their ancient prejudices ; this obliged OTHO to undertake a second voyage into *Pomerania*, A. D. 1126, in which, after much opposition and difficulty, his labours were crowned with a happier issue, and contributed much to enlarge the bounds of the rising church, and to establish it upon solid foundations [a]. From this period, the Christian religion seemed to acquire daily new degrees of stability among the *Pomeranians* ; who could not be persuaded hitherto to permit the settlement of a bishop among them. They now received ADALBERT, or ALBERT, in that character, who was accordingly the first bishop of *Pomerania*.

II. Of all the northern princes in this century, none appeared with a more distinguished lustre than WALDEMAR I, king of *Denmark*, who acquired an immortal name by the glorious battles he fought against the Pagan nations, such as the *Slavonians*, *Venedi*, *Vandals*, and others, who, either by their incursions or this revolt, drew upon them the weight of his victorious arm. He unsheathed his sword not only for the defence and happiness of his people, but also for the propagation and advancement of Christianity ; and wherever his arms were successful, there he pulled down the temples and images of the gods, destroyed their altars, laid waste their sacred groves, and substituted in their place the Christian worship, which deserved to be propagated by better means than the sword, by the authority of reason rather than by the despotic voice of power. The island of *Rugen*, which lies in the neighbourhood of *Pomerania*, submitted to the victorious arms of WALDEMAR, A. D. 1168 ; and its fierce and savage inhabitants, who were, in reality, no more than a

The Slavonians and inhabitants of the isle of *Rugen*.

[a] See HENR. CANISII *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iii. part II. p. 34. where we find the life of OTHO, who, A. D. 1189, was canonised by CLEMENT III. See the *Acta Sanctor. mensis Julii*, tom. i. p. 349.—DAN. CRAMERI *Chronicon Eccles. Pomeraniæ*, lib. i. as also a learned *Dissertation* concerning the conversion of the *Pomeranians* by the ministry of OTHO, written in the German language by CHRISTOPHER SCHOTGEN, and published at *Stargard* in the year 1724. Add to these, MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 123. 146. 323.

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T I.

The Fin-
landers.

band of robbers and pirates, were obliged, by that prince, to hear the instructions of the pious and learned doctors that followed his army, and to receive the Christian worship. This salutary work was brought to perfection by ABSALOM, archbishop of *Lunden*, a man of a superior genius, and of a most excellent character in every respect, whose eminent merit raised him to the summit of power, and engaged WALDEMAR to place him at the head of affairs [b].

III. The Finlanders received the gospel in the same manner in which it had been propagated among the inhabitants of the isle of *Rugen*. They were also a fierce and savage people, who lived by plunder, and infested *Sweden* in a terrible manner by their perpetual incursions, until, after many bloody battles, they were totally defeated by ERIC IX, and were, in consequence thereof, reduced under the Swedish yoke. Historians differ about the precise time when this conquest was completed [c]; but they are all unanimous in their accounts of its effects. The Finlanders were commanded to embrace the religion of the conqueror, which the greatest part of them did, though with the utmost reluctance [d]. The founder

[b] SAXO GRAMMATICUS, *Histor. Danic.* lib. xiv. p. 239.—HELMOLDUS, *Chron. Sclavorum*, lib. ii. cap. xii. p. 234. & HENR. BANGERTUS, *ad b. l.*—PONTOPPIDANI *Annales Ecclesiae Danicae*, tom. i. p. 404.

Besides the historians here mentioned by Dr. MOSHEIM, we refer the curious reader to an excellent history of *Denmark*, written in French by M. MALLET, professor at *Copenhagen*. In the first volume of this history, the ingenious and learned author has given a very interesting account of the progress of Christianity in the northern parts of *Europe*, and a particular relation of the exploits of ABSALOM, who was, at the same time, archbishop, general, admiral, and prime minister, and who led the victorious Danes to battle by sea and land, without neglecting the cure of souls, or diminishing, in the least, his pious labours in the propagation of the gospel abroad, and its maintenance and support at home.

[c] Most writers with BARONIUS place this event in the year 1151. Different, however, from this is the chronology of VASTOVIVUS and OERNHIELMIUS, the former placing it A. D. 1150, and the latter A. D. 1157.

[d] OERNHIELMIUS *Histor. Eccles. gentis Suecorum*, lib. iv. cap. iv. § 13.—JO. LOCENII *Histor. Suecica*, lib. iii. p. 76. ed. *Francof.*—ERLANDI *Vita Erici Sancti*, cap. vii.—VASTOVII *Vitis Aquilonia*, p. 65.

and

and ruler of this new church was HENRY, archbishop of C E N T. XII. PART I.
Upsal, who accompanied the victorious monarch in that bloody campaign. This prelate, whose zeal was not sufficiently tempered with the mild and gentle spirit of the religion he taught, treated the new converts with great severity, and was assassinated at last in a cruel manner on account of the heavy penance he imposed upon a person of great authority, who had been guilty of manslaughter. This melancholy event procured HENRY the honours of sainthood and martyrdom, which were solemnly conferred upon him by pope ADRIAN IV [e].

IV. The propagation of the gospel among the Livonians was attended with much difficulty, and also with horrible scenes of cruelty and bloodshed. The first missionary, who attempted the conversion of that savage people, was MAINARD, a regular canon of *St. Augustin*, in the monastery of *Sigeberg*, who, towards the conclusion of this century [f], travelled to *Livonia*, with a company of merchants of *Bremen* who traded thither, and improved this opportunity of spreading the light of the gospel in that barbarous region of superstition and darkness. The instructions and exhortations of this zealous apostle were little attended to, and produced little or no effect upon that uncivilized nation; whereupon he addressed himself to the Roman pontif, URBAN III, who consecrated him bishop of the Livonians, and, at the same time, declared a holy war against that obstinate people. This war, which was at first carried on against the inhabitants of the province of *Esthonia*, was continued with still greater vigour and rendered more universal by BERTHOLD, abbot of *Lucca*, who left his monastery to share the labours and laurels of MAINARD, whom he, accordingly, succeeded in the see of *Livonia*. The new bishop marched into that province at the head of a powerful army which he had raised in *Saxony*, preached the gospel sword in hand, and proved its truth by blows instead of arguments. ALBERT, canon of *Bremen*, became the third bishop of *Livonia*, and followed, with a barbarous enthusiasm, the same military

The Livonians.

[e] VASTOVII *Vitis Aquilon. seu Vitæ Sanctorum regni Suegothici*, p. 62.—ERIC. BENEZLII *Monumenta Ecclesiæ Sueogothicæ*, part I.

p. 33.

[f] In the year 1186.

CE N T.
XII.
PART I.

methods of conversion that had been practised by his predecessor. He entered *Livonia*, A. D. 1198, with a fresh body of troops, drawn out of *Saxony*, and encamping at *Riga*, instituted there, by the direction of the Roman pontif INNOCENT III, the *military order of the knights sword-bearers* [g], who were commissioned to dragoon the Livonians into the profession of Christianity, and to oblige them, by force of arms, to receive the benefits of baptism [h]. New legions were sent from *Germany* to second the efforts, and add efficacy to the mission of these booted apostles; and they, together with the knights, sword-bearers so cruelly oppressed, slaughtered and tormented this wretched people, that, exhausted, at length, and unable to stand any longer firm against the arm of persecution strengthened still by new accessions of power, they abandoned the statues of their Pagan deities, and substituted in their place the images of the saints. But while they received the blessings of the gospel, they were, at the same time, deprived of all earthly comforts; for their lands and possessions were taken from them with the most odious circumstances of cruelty and violence, and the knights and bishops divided the spoil [i].

The Slavonians.

V. None of the northern nations had a more rooted aversion to the Christians, and a more obstinate antipathy to their religion, than the Slavonians, a rough and barbarous people, who inhabited the coast of the Baltic sea. This excited the zeal of several neighbouring princes, and of a multitude of pious missionaries, who united their efforts in order to conquer the prejudices of this people, and to open their eyes upon the light of the gospel. HENRY, duke of *Saxony*, surnamed the *Lion*, distinguished himself, in a particular manner, by the ardour which he discovered in the execution of this pious design, as well as by the wise methods he employed to render it successful. Among

[g] *Equestris Ordo Militum Ensisferorum.*

[h] See HENR. LEONH. SCHURZFLEISCHII *Historia Ordinis Ensisferorum Equitum, Witteberg, 1701, 8vo.*

[i] See the *Origines Livoniae, seu Chronicon vetus Livonicum*, published in folio, at *Francfort*, in the year 1740, by JO. DANIEL GRUBERUS, and enriched with ample and learned observations, and notes, in which the laborious author enumerates all the writers of the Livonian history, and corrects their mistakes.

other

other measures that were proper for this purpose, he restored from their ruins, and endowed richly three bishoprics [k] that had been ravaged and destroyed by these Barbarians; to wit, the bishoprics of *Ratzebourg* and *Schwerin*, and that of *Oldenbourg*, which was afterwards transplanted to *Lubec*. The most eminent of the Christian doctors, who attempted the conversion of the Slavonians, was VICELINUS, a native of *Hamelen*, a man of extraordinary merit, who surpassed almost all his contemporaries in genuine piety and solid learning, and who, after having presided many years in the society of the regular canons of *St. Augustin* at *Falderen*, was, at length, consecrated bishop of *Oldenbourg*. This excellent man had employed the last thirty years of his life [l], amidst numberless vexations, dangers, and difficulties, in instructing the Slavonians, and exhorting them to comply with the invitations of the gospel of CHRIST; and as his pious labours were directed by true wisdom, and carried on with the most indefatigable industry and zeal, so were they attended with much fruit, even among that fierce and untractable people. Nor was his ministry among the Slavonians the only circumstance that redounds to the honour of his memory; the history of his life and actions in general furnish proofs of his piety and zeal, sufficient to transmit his name to the latest generations [m].

[k] Dr. MOSHEIM's account of this matter is very different from that which is given by FLEURY, who asserts, that it was HARTWICK, archbishop of *Bremen*, who restored the three ruined sees, and consecrated VICELINUS, bishop of *Oldenbourg*; and that, having done this without addressing himself to HENRY, that prince seized the tithes of VICELINUS, until a reconciliation was afterwards brought about between the offended prince and the worthy bishop. See FLEURY, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. lxix. p. 665. 668. edit. *Bruxelle*. FLEURY, in this and other parts of his history, shews, that he is but indifferently acquainted with the history of *Germany*, and has not drawn from the best sources. The authorities which Dr. MOSHEIM produces for his account of the matter, are, the *Origines Guelphicae*, tom. iii. p. 16. 19. 34. 55. 61. 63. 72. 82. with the celebrated Preface of SCHEIDIUS, § xiv. p. 41.—LUDEWIG's *Reliquiae Manuscriptorum*, tom. vi. p. 230.—JO. ERN. DE WESTPHALEN, *Monumenta inedita rerum Cimbricarum et Megapolens.* tom. ii. p. 1998.

[l] That is, from the year 1124 to the year 1154, in which he died.

[m] There is a particular and ample account of VICELINUS, in the *Cimbria Literata* of MOLLERUS, tom. ii. p. 910. and in the

CENT.
XII.
PART I.

The judgment we ought to form of these conversions,

VI. It is needless to repeat here the observation we have had so often occasion to make upon such conversions as these we have been now relating, or to advertise the reader that the savage nations, who were thus dragooned into the church, became the disciples of CHRIST, not so much in reality, as in outward appearance. [They professed, with an inward reluctance, a religion which was inculcated by violence and bloodshed, which recalled to their remembrance nothing but scenes of desolation and misery, and which, indeed, when considered in the representations that were given of it by the greatest part of the missionaries, was but a few degrees removed from the absurdities of paganism.] The pure and rational religion of the gospel was never presented to these unhappy nations in its native simplicity; they were only taught to appease the Deity, and to render him propitious, by a senseless round of trifling ceremonies and bodily exercises, which, in many circumstances, resembled the superstitions they were obliged to renounce, and might have been easily reconciled with them, had it not been that the name and history of CHRIST, the sign of the cross, and some diversity between certain rites and ceremonies of the two religions, opposed this coalition. Besides, the missionaries, whose zeal for imposing the name of Christians upon this people was so vehement and even furious, were extremely indulgent in all other respects, and opposed their prejudices and vices with much gentleness and forbearance. They permitted them to retain several rites and observances that were in direct opposition to the spirit of Christianity, and to the nature of true piety. The truth of the matter seems to have been this, that the leading views of these Christian heralds, and propagators of the faith, a small number excepted, were rather turned towards the advancement of their own interests, and the confirming and extending the dominion of the Roman pontiffs, than towards the true conversion of these savage Pagans, that

Hamburg. of LAMBECIUS, lib. ii. p. 12. See also upon this subject the *Origines Neomonastr. et Bordeholmens.* of the most learned and industrious JOH. ERN. DE WESTPHALEN, which are published in the second tome of the *Monumenta inedita Cimbrica*, p. 2344. and the *Preface* to this tome, p. 33. There is in this work a print of VIGELINUS well engraven.

conversion

conversion which consists in the removal of ignorance, the correction of error, and the reformation of vice.

VII. A great revolution in *Asiatic Tartary*, which borders upon *Cathay*, changed the face of things in that distant region about the commencement of this century, and proved, by its effects, extremely beneficial to the Christian cause. Towards the conclusion of the preceding century, died COIREMCHAN, otherwise called KENCHAN, the most powerful monarch that was known in the eastern regions of *Asia*; and while that mighty kingdom was deprived of its chief, it was invaded, with such uncommon valour and success, by a Nestorian priest, whose name was JOHN, that it fell before his victorious arms, and acknowledged this warlike and enterprizing *presbyter* as its monarch. This was the famous PRESTER JOHN, whose territory was, for a long time, considered by the Europeans as a second paradise, as the seat of opulence and complete felicity. As he was a *presbyter* before his elevation to the royal dignity, many continued to call him *presbyter John*, even when he was seated on the throne [n]; but his king-

C E N T.
XII.

P A R T I.

The state
of affairs in
Tartary
changes in
favour of the
Christians.

[n] The account I have here given of this famous *presbyter*, commonly called PRESTER JOHN, who was, for a long time, considered as the greatest and happiest of all earthly monarchs, is what appeared to me the most probable among the various relations that have been given of the life and adventures of that extraordinary man. This account is moreover confirmed by the testimonies of cotemporary writers, whose knowledge and impartiality render them worthy of credit: such as WILLIAM of Tripoli (see DU FRESNE's *Adnot. ad vitam Ludovici Sti. à Joinvillio scriptam*, p. 89.) as also a certain bishop of Gabala, mentioned by OTTO Frising. *Chronic.* lib. vii. cap. xxxiii. See also GUILLAUME RUBRUQUIS, *Voyage*, cap. xviii. p. 36. in the *Antiqua in Asiam Itinera*, collected by father BERGERON. and ALBERIC. in *Chronico ad A. 1165 & 1170*, in LEIBNITII *Accessionibus Historicis*, tom. ii. p. 345. 355. It is indeed surprizing, that such authentic records as these should have escaped the observation of the learned, and that so many different opinions should have been advanced concerning PRESTER JOHN, and the place of his residence. But it is too generally the fate of learned men, to overlook those accounts that carry the plainest marks of evidence, and, from a passion for the *marvellous*, to plunge into the regions of uncertainty and doubt. In the fifteenth century, JOHN II, king of Portugal, employed PEDRO COUVILLIANO in a laborious inquiry into the real situation of the kingdom of PRESTER JOHN. The curious voyager undertook this task, and, for information in the matter, travelled with a few companions into *Abyssinia*; and, observing in the emperor of the Abyssinians, or Ethiopians, many circumstances that resembled the accounts which, at that time, prevailed in Europe concerning

ly

O E N T.
XII.
PART I.

ly name was UNGCHAN. The high notions the Greeks and Latins generally entertained of the grandeur and magnificence of this royal presbyter, were principally owing to the letters he wrote to the Roman emperor FREDERIC I, and to EMANUEL emperor of the Greeks, in which, puffed up with prosperity and flushed with success, he vaunts his victories over the neighbouring nations that disputed his passage to the throne, describes, in the most pompous and extravagant terms, the splendor of his riches, the grandeur of his state, and the extent of his dominions, and exalts himself far above all other earthly monarchs. All this was easily believed, and the Nestorians were extremely zealous in confirming the boasts of their vain-glorious prince. He was succeeded by his son, or, as others think, his brother, whose name was DAVID, though, in common discourse, he was also called PRESTER JOHN, as his predecessor had been. The reign of DAVID was far from being happy, nor did he end his days in peace; GENGHIZ KAN, the great and warlike emperor of the Tartars, invaded his territories towards the conclusion of this century, and deprived him both of his life and his dominions.

The affairs
of the Christians in Palestine in a declining state.

VIII. The new kingdom of *Jerusalem*, which had been erected by the *holy warriors* of *France* towards the con-

PRESTER JOHN, he persuaded himself that he had fulfilled his commission, and found out the residence of that extraordinary monarch, who was the object of his researches. His opinion gained easily credit in *Europe*, which had not as yet emerged out of its ignorance and barbarism. See MORINUS, *De sacris Eccles. Ordinationibus*, part II. p. 367. But a new light was cast upon this matter in the seventeenth century, by the publication of several pieces, which the industry of the curious drew forth from their obscurity, and by which a great number of learned men were engaged to abandon the Portuguese opinion, and were convinced that PRESTER JOHN reigned in *Asia*, though they still continued to dispute about the situation of his kingdom, and other particular circumstances. There are, notwithstanding all this, some men of the most eminent learning in our times, who maintain, that JOHN was emperor of the Abyssinians, and thus prefer the Portuguese opinion, though destitute of authentic proofs and testimonies, to the other abovementioned, though supported by the strongest evidence, and the most unquestionable authorities. See EUSEB. RENAUDOT, *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandr.* p. 223. 337.—JOS. FRANC. LAFITAU, *Hist. des Decouvertes des Portugais.* tom. i. p. 58. & tom. iii. p. 57.—HENR. LE GRAND, *Diff. de Johanne Presbytero* in LOBO's *Voyage d'Abissinie*, tom. i. p. 295.

clusion

clusion of the preceding century, seemed to flourish considerably at the beginning of this, and to rest upon firm and solid foundations. This prosperous scene was, however, but transitory, and was soon succeeded by the most terrible calamities and desolations. For when the Mahometans saw vast numbers of those that had engaged in this holy war returning into *Europe*, and the Christian chiefs that remained in *Palestine* divided into factions, and advancing, every one, his private interest without any regard to the public good, they resumed their courage, recovered from the terror and consternation into which they had been thrown by the amazing valour and rapid success of the European legions, and gathering troops and soliciting succours from all quarters, they harrassed and exhausted the Christians by invasions and wars without interruption. The Christians, on the other hand, sustained their efforts with their usual fortitude, and maintained their ground during many years; but when ATABEC ZENGHI [o], after a long siege, made himself master of the city of *Edessa*, and threatened *Antioch* with the same fate, their courage began to fail, and a diffidence in their own strength obliged them to turn their eyes once more towards *Europe*. They accordingly implored, in the most lamentable strain, the assistance of the European princes, and requested that a new army of cross-bearing champions might be sent to support their tottering empire in the Holy land. Their entreaties were favourably received by the Roman pontifs, who left no method of persuasion unemployed, that might engage the emperor and other Christian princes to execute a new expedition into *Palestine*.

IX. This new expedition was not, however, resolved upon with such unanimity and precipitation as the former had been; it was the subject of long deliberation, and its expediency was keenly debated both in the cabinets of princes, and in the assemblies of the clergy and the people. BERNARD, the famous abbot of *Clairval*, a man of the

The crusade renewed.

[o] *Atabek* was a title of honour given by the *Sultans* to the viceroys or lieutenants, whom they intrusted with the government of their provinces. The Latin authors, who have wrote the history of this holy war, and of whom BONGARSUS has given us a complete list, call this *Atabek Zenghi*, SANGUINUS. See HERBELOT, *Biblioth. Orient.* at the word ATABECK, p. 142.

C E N T.
XII.
PART I.

boldest resolution and of the greatest authority, put an end to these disputes under the pontificate of EUGENIUS III, who had been his disciple, and who was wholly governed by his counsels. This eloquent and zealous ecclesiastic preached the cross, i. e. the *crusade*, in *France* and *Germany*, with great ardour and success; and in the grand parliament assembled at *Vezelai*, A. D. 1146, at which LEWIS VII, king of *France*, with his queen, and a prodigious concourse of the principal nobility, were present, BERNARD recommended this holy expedition with such a persuasive power, and declared with such assurance that he had a divine commission to foretell its glorious success, that the king, the queen, and all the nobles, immediately put on the military cross, and prepared themselves for the voyage into *Palestine*. CONRAD III, emperor of *Germany*, was for some time, unmoved by the exhortations of BERNARD, but he was soon gained over by the urgent solicitations of the fervent abbot, and followed, accordingly, the example of the French monarch. The two princes, each at the head of a numerous army, set out for *Palestine*, to which they were to march by different roads. But, before their arrival in the Holy land, the greatest part of their force were melted away, and perished miserably, some by famine, some by the sword of the Mahometans, some by shipwreck, and a considerable number by the perfidious cruelty of the Greeks, who looked upon the western nations as more to be feared than the Mahometans themselves. LEWIS VI left his kingdom A. D. 1147, and, in the month of *March* of the following year, he arrived at *Antioch*, with the wretched remains of his army, exhausted and dejected by the hardships they had endured. CONRAD set out also in the year 1147, in the month of *May*; and, in *November* following, he arrived at *Nice*, where he joined the French army, after having lost the greatest part of his own by calamities of various kinds. From *Nice* the two princes proceeded to *Jerusalem* A. D. 1148, from whence they led back into *Europe*, the year following, the miserable handful of troops, which had survived the disasters they met with in this expedition. Such was the unhappy issue of this second *crusade*, which was rendered ineffectual by a variety of causes, but more particularly by the jealousy and divisions that reigned among the Christian chiefs in

Palestine.

Palestine. Nor was it more ineffectual in *Palestine* than it was detrimental to *Europe*, by draining the wealth of its fairest provinces, and destroying such a prodigious number of its inhabitants [p].

X. The unhappy issue of this second expedition was not however sufficient, when considered alone, to render the affairs of the Christians, in *Palestine*, entirely desperate. Had their chiefs and princes laid aside their animosities and contentions, and attacked the common enemy with their united force, they would have soon repaired their losses, and recovered their glory. But this was far from being the case. A fatal corruption of sentiments and manners reigned among all ranks and orders. Both the people and their leaders, and more especially the latter, abandoned themselves without reluctance to all the excesses of ambition, avarice, and injustice; they indulged themselves in the practice of all sorts of vices; and by their intestine quarrels, jealousies, and discords, they weakened their efforts against the enemies that surrounded them on all sides, and consumed their strength by thus unhappily dividing it. SALADIN, viceroy, or rather sultan, of *Egypt* and *Syria* [q], and the most valiant chief of whom the Mahometan annals boast, took advantage of these lamentable divisions. He waged war against the Christians with the utmost valour and success; took prisoner GUY of LUSIGNAN, king of *Jerusalem*, in a fatal battle fought near *Tiberias*, A. D. 1187; and, in the course of the same year, reduced *Jerusalem* itself under his dominion [r].

The kingdom of *Jerusalem* overturned.

[p] Besides the historians enumerated by BONGARSIIUS, see MAILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 399. 404. 407. 417. 451. JAC. GERVASII *Histoire de l'Abbe Suger*, tom. iii. p. 104. 128. 173. 190. 199. This was the famous SUGER, abbot of *St. Denis*, who had seconded the exhortations of BERNARD in favour of the *crusade*, and whom LEWIS appointed regent of *France* during his absence. VERTOT, *Histoire des Chevaliers de Malte*, tom. i. p. 86. JOH. JAC. MASCOVIUS, *De rebus imperii sub Conrado III.*

[q] SALADIN, so called by the western writers, SALAH'ADDIN by the Orientals, was no longer vizir or viceroy of *Egypt*, when he undertook the siege of *Jerusalem*, but had usurped the sovereign power in that country, and had also added to his dominions, by right of conquest, several provinces of *Syria*.

[r] See the *Life of Saladin* by BOHAI'EDIN EBN SHEDDAD, an Arabian writer, whose history of that warlike sultan was published at *Leyden*, in the year 1732, by the late celebrated professor ALBERT

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T I.

A third crusade undertaken.

The carnage and desolations that accompanied this dreadful campaign threw the affairs of the Christians in the east into the most desperate condition, and left them no glimpse of hope, but what arose from the expected succours of the European princes. These succours were obtained for them by the Roman pontiffs with much difficulty, and in consequence of repeated solicitations and entreaties. But the event, as we shall now see, was by no means answerable to the deep schemes that were concerted, and the pains that were employed for the support of the tottering kingdom of *Jerusalem*.

XI. The third expedition was undertaken, A. D. 1189, by FREDERIC I, surnamed BARBAROSSA, emperor of *Germany*, who, with a prodigious army, marched through several Grecian provinces, where he had innumerable difficulties and obstacles to overcome, into the *Lesser Asia*, from whence, after having defeated the sultan of *Iconium*, he penetrated into *Syria*. His valour and conduct promised successful and glorious campaigns to the army he commanded, when, by an unhappy accident, he lost his life in the river *Saleph* [s], which runs through *Seleucia*. The manner of his death is not known with any degree of certainty; the loss however of such an able chief dejected the spirits of his troops, so that considerable numbers of them returned into *Europe*. Those that remained continued the war under the command of FREDERIC, son of the deceased emperor; but the greatest part of them perished miserably by a pestilential disorder, which raged with prodigious violence in the camp, and swept off vast numbers every day. The new general died of this

SCULTENS, and accompanied with an excellent Latin translation. See also HERBELOT, *Biblioth. Orient.* at the article SALAH'ADDIN, p. 742. and MARIGNY's *Histoire des Arabes*, tom. iv. p. 289. &c. But above all, see the learned *History of the Arabians* in the *Modern Part of the Universal History*.

[s] MAIMBOURG, in his *Histoire des Croisades*, and MARIGNY, in his *Hist. du XII Siecle*, say, that FREDERIC perished in the *Cydnus*, a river in *Cilicia*. But they are easily to be reconciled with our author, since, according to the descriptions given of the river *Saleph* by several learned geographers, and among others by ROGER the Annalist, it appears that the *Saleph* and the *Cydnus* were the same river under different names.

terrible

terrible disease, A. D. 1191; those that escaped its fury were dispersed, and few returned to their own country [t].

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T I.

XII. The example of FREDERIC BARBAROSSA was followed, in the year 1190, by PHILIP AUGUSTUS king of *France*, and lion-hearted RICHARD, king of *England*. These two monarchs set out from their respective dominions with a considerable number of ships of war and transports [u], arrived in *Palestine* in the year 1191, each at the head of a separate army, and were pretty successful in their first encounters with the infidels. After the reduction of the strong city of *Acca* or *Ptolemais*, which had been defended by the Moslems with the most obstinate valour, the French monarch returned into *Europe*, in the month of July, 1191, leaving, however, behind him a considerable part of the army which he had conducted into *Palestine*. After his departure, the king of *England* pushed the war with the greatest vigour, gave daily marks of his heroic intrepidity and military skill, and not only defeated SALADIN in several engagements, but also made himself master of *Yaffa* [w] and *Cæsarea*. Deserted, however, by the French and Italians, and influenced by other motives and considerations of the greatest weight, he concluded, A. D. 1192, with SALADIN, a truce of three years, three months, and as many days, and soon evacuated *Palestine* with his whole army [x]. Such was the issue of the third expedition against the infidels, which exhausted *England*, *France*, and *Germany*, both of men and money, without bringing any solid ad-

Its issue.

[t] See an ample and satisfactory account of this unhappy campaign in the *Life of Frederic I.* written in German by HENRY Count BUNAU, p. 278. 293. 309.

[u] The learned authors of the *Modern Universal History* tell us, that PHILIP arrived in *Palestine* with a supply of men, money, &c. on board six ships, whereas RENAUDOT mentions 100 sail as employed in this expedition. The fleet of RICHARD consisted of 150 large ships, besides galleys, &c.

[w] More commonly known by the name of *Joppa*.

[x] DANIEL, *Histoire de France*, tom. iii. p. 426.—RAPIN THOYRAS, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, tom. ii. See there the reign of RICHARD, *Cœur de Lion*.—MARIGNY, *Histoire des Arabes*, tom. iv. p. 285.

vantage,

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T I.

Institution
of the mili-
tary order of
knighthood.

vantage, or giving even a favourable turn, to the affairs of the Christians in the Holy land.

XIII. These bloody wars between the Christians and the Mahometans gave rise to *three famous military orders*, whose office it was to destroy the robbers that infested the public roads, to harass the Moslems by perpetual inroads and warlike achievements, to assist the poor and sick pilgrims, whom the devotion of the times conducted to the holy sepulchre, and to perform several other services that tended to the general good [y]. The first of these orders was that of the *knights of St. John of Jerusalem*, who derived their name, and particularly that of *Hospitallers*, from an hospital dedicated, in that city, to St. JOHN the *baptist*, in which certain pious and charitable brethren were constantly employed in relieving and refreshing with necessary supplies the indigent and diseased pilgrims, who were daily arriving at *Jerusalem*. When this city became the metropolis of a new kingdom, the revenues of the hospital were so prodigiously encreased by the liberality of several princes, and the pious donations of such opulent persons as frequented the *holy places*, that they far surpassed the wants of those whom they were designed to cherish and relieve. Hence it was that RAYMOND DU PUY, who was the ruler of this charitable house, offered to the king of *Jerusalem* to make war upon the Mahometans at his own expence, seconded by his brethren, who served under him in this famous hospital. BALDUIN II, to whom this proposal was made, accepted it readily, and the enterprize was solemnly approved and confirmed by the authority of the Roman pontiff. Thus, all of a sudden, the world was surprized with the strange transformation of a devout fraternity, who had lived remote from the noise and tumult of arms in the performance of works of charity and mercy, into a valiant and hardy band of warriors. The whole Order was upon this occasion divided into three classes; the first contained the *knights*, or soldiers of illustrious birth, who were to unsheath their swords in the Christian cause; the

[y] The writers, who have given the history of these three orders are enumerated by JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, *Bibliograph. Antiqua* p. 465. but his enumeration is not complete.

the second were comprehended the *priests*, who were to officiate in the churches that belonged to the order; and in the third, the *serving brethren*, or the soldiers of low condition. This celebrated order gave, upon many occasions, eminent proofs of their resolution and valour, and acquired immense opulence by their heroic achievements. When *Palestine* was irrecoverably lost, the *knights* passed into the isle of *Cyprus*; they afterwards made themselves masters of the isle of *Rhodes*, where they maintained themselves for a long time; but being, at length, driven thence by the Turks, they received from the emperor CHARLES V a grant of the island of *Malta*, where their chief, or grand commander, still resides [z].

XIV. Another order, which was entirely of a military nature, was that of the *knights templars*, so called from a palace, adjoining to the temple of *Jerusalem*, which was appropriated to their use for a certain time by BALDUIN II. The foundations of this order were laid at *Jerusalem*, in the year 1118, by HUGUES DES PAYENS, GEOFFRY of St. ALDEMAR, or St. OMER, as some will have it, and seven other persons whose names are unknown; but it was not before the year 1228, that it acquired a proper degree of stability, by being confirmed solemnly in the council of *Troyes*, and subjected to a rule of discipline drawn up by St. BERNARD [a]. These warlike templars were to defend and support the cause of Christianity by force of arms, to have inspection over the public roads, and to protect the pilgrims, who came to visit *Jerusalem*, against the insults and barbarity of the Mahometans. The order flourished for some time, and acquired, by the valour of its knights, immense riches and an eminent degree of military renown; but, as their prosperity increased, their vices were multiplied, and their arrogance, luxury, and inhuman cruelty rose at last to such a monstrous height, that their privileges were revoked, and their order suppressed with the most terrible circum-

The knights
templars.

[z] The best and the most recent history of this order is that which was composed by VERTOT at the request of the knights of *Malta*; it was first published at *Paris*, and afterwards at *Amsterdam*, in five volumes, 8vo. in the year 1732. See also HELYOT's *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. iii. p. 72.

[a] See MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 159.

C E N T.

XII.

P A R T I.

The Teuto-
nic order.

stances of infamy and severity, by a decree of the pope and of the council of *Vienne* in *Dauphiny*, as we shall see in the history of the fourteenth century [b].

XV. The third order resembled the first in this respect, that, though it was a military institution, the care of the poor and the relief of the sick were not excluded from the services it prescribed. Its members were distinguished by the title of *Teutonic knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem*; and as to its first rise, we cannot, with any degree of certainty, trace it farther back than the year 1190, during the siege of *Accâ*, or *Ptolemais*, though there are Historians adventurous enough to seek its origin (which they place at *Jerusalem*) in a more remote period. During the long and tedious siege of *Accâ*, several pious and charitable merchants of *Bremen* and *Lubec*, touched with compassion at a sight of the miseries that the besiegers suffered in the midst of their success, devoted themselves entirely to the service of the sick and wounded soldiers, and erected a kind of hospital or tent, where they gave constant attendance to all such unhappy objects as had recourse to their charity. This pious undertaking was so agreeable to the German princes, who were present at this terrible siege, that they thought proper to form a fraternity of German knights to bring it to a greater degree of perfection. Their resolution was highly approved of by the Roman pontif CELESTINE III, who confirmed the new order by a bull issued out the twenty-third of February, A. D. 1192. This order was entirely appropriated to the Germans, and even of them none were admitted as members of it, but such as were of an illustrious birth. The support of Christianity, the defence of the Holy land and the relief of the poor and needy, were the important duties and service to which the Teutonic knights devoted themselves by a solemn vow. Austerity and frugality were the first characteristics of this rising order, and the

[b] See MATTHEW PARIS, *Histor. Major*, p. 56. for an account of the commencement of this order. See also PUTEAN, *Histoire de l'Ordre Militaire des Templiers*, which was republished, with considerable additions, at *Brussels*, in 4to. in the year 1751.—NIC GURTLER *Historia Templariorum Militum*, *Amstelodam*. 169 in 8vo.

equestrian garment [c], with bread and water, were the only rewards which the knights derived from their generous labours. But as, according to the fate of human things, prosperity engenders corruption, so it happened that this austerity was of a short duration, and diminished in proportion as the revenues and possessions of the order augmented. The Teutonic knights, after their retreat from *Palestine*, made themselves masters of *Prussia*, *Livonia*, *Courland*, and *Semigallen*; but, in process of time, their victorious arms received several checks, and when the light of the reformation arose upon *Germany*, they were deprived of the richest provinces which they possessed in that country; though they still retain there a certain portion of their ancient territories [d].

CHAP. II.

Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the church during this century.

THE progress of Christianity in the west had disarmed its most inveterate enemies, and deprived them of the power of doing much mischief, though they still entertained the same aversion to the disciples of *JESUS*. The Jews and Pagans were no longer able to oppose the propagation of the gospel, or to oppress its ministers. Their malignity remained, but their credit and authority were gone. The Jews were accused by the Christians of various crimes, whether real or fictitious we shall not determine; but, instead of attacking their accusers, they were satisfied to defend their own lives, and to secure their persons, without daring to give vent to their resentment. The state of things was

The state of the church in the western and northern provinces.

[c] This garment was a white mantle with a black cross.

[d] See RAYMUNDI DUELLII *Histor. Ord. Teutonici*, published in folio at Vienna in 1727.—PETRI DUSBURG, *Chronicon Prussia*, published in 4to. at Jena, in the year 1679, by CHRISTOPH. HARTNOCHIIUS.—HELYOT, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. iii. p. 140.—*Chronicon Ordinis Teutonici* in ANTON. MATTHÆI *Analectis veteris ævi*, tom. v. p. 621. 658. ed. nov.—*Privilegia Ordinis Teutonici* in PETR. LUDEWIG *Reliquiis Manuscriptor.* tom. vi. p. 43.

CENT.
XII.
PART I.

somewhat different in the Northern provinces. The Pagans were yet numerous there in several districts, and, wherever they were the majority, they persecuted the Christians with the utmost barbarity, the most unrelenting and merciless fury [e]. It is true, the Christian kings and princes, who lived in the neighbourhood of these persecuting Barbarians, checked by degrees their impetuous rage, and never ceased to harass and weaken them by perpetual wars and incursions, until, at length, they subdued them entirely, and deprived them, by force, both of their independency and their superstitions.

Its sufferings
in the east.

II. The writers of this century complain grievously of the inhuman rage with which the Saracens persecuted the Christians in the east, nor can we question the truth of what they relate concerning this terrible persecution. But they pass over in silence the principal reasons that inflamed the resentment of this fierce people, and voluntarily forget that the Christians were the first aggressors in this dreadful war. If we consider the matter with impartiality and candour, the conduct of the Saracens, however barbarous it may have been, will not appear so surprising, particularly when we reflect on the provocations they received. In the first place, they had right, by the laws of war, to repel, by force, the violent invasion of their country, and the Christians could not expect, without being chargeable with the most frontless impudence, that a people whom they attacked with a formidable army, and whom, in the fury of their misguided zeal, they massacred without mercy, should receive their insults with a tame submission, and give up their lives and possessions without resistance. It must also be confessed, though with sorrow, that the Christians did not content themselves with making war upon the Mahometans in order to deliver *Jerusalem* and the holy sepulchre out of their hands, but carried their brutal fury to the greatest length, disgraced their cause by the most detestable crimes, filled the eastern provinces, through

[e] HELMOLD, *Chronic. Slavor.* lib. i. cap. xxxiv. p. 88. xxxv. p. 89. cap. xl. p. 99.—LINDENBROGH *Scriptor. Septentrionalis* p. 195, 196. 201.—PETRI LAMBECH *Res Hamburg.* lib. i. p. 23.

which they passed, with scenes of horror, and made the Saracens feel the terrible effects of their violence and barbarity wherever their arms were successful. Is it then so surprizing to see the infidel Saracens committing, by way of reprisal, the same barbarities that the holy warriors had perpetrated without the least provocation? Is there any thing so new and so extraordinary in this, that a people naturally fierce, and exasperated, moreover, by the calamities of a religious war carried on against them in contradiction to all the dictates of justice and humanity, should avenge themselves upon the Christians who resided in *Palestine*, as professing the religion which gave occasion to the war, and attached, of consequence, to the cause of their enemies and invaders?

III. The rapid and amazing victories of the great GENGHIZKAN, emperor of the Tartars, gave an unhappy turn to the affairs of the Christians in the northern parts of *Asia*, towards the conclusion of this century. This heroic prince, who was by birth a Mogul, and whose military exploits raise him in the list of fame above almost all the commanders either of antient or modern times, rendered his name formidable throughout all *Asia*, whose most flourishing dynasties fell successively before his victorious arms. DAVID, or UNGCHAN, who, according to some, was the son, or, as others will have it, the brother, but who was certainly the successor, of the famous PRESTER JOHN, and was himself so called in common discourse, was the first victim that GENGHIZKAN sacrificed to his boundless ambition. He invaded his territory, and put to flight his troops in a bloody battle, where DAVID lost, at the same time, his kingdom and his life [f]. The princes, who governed the Turks,

Prester John
departs this
life.

[f] The Greek, Latin, and Oriental writers are far from being agreed concerning the year in which the emperor of the Tartars attacked and defeated PRESTER JOHN. The most of the Latin writers place this event in the year 1202, and consequently in the thirteenth century. But MARCUS PAULUS VENETUS (in his book *Regionibus Orientalibus*, lib. i. cap. li, lii, liii.) and other historians, whose accounts I have followed as the most probable, place the defeat of this second PRESTER JOHN in the year 1187. The learned and illustrious DEMETRIUS CANTEMIR (in his *Pref. ad Histor. imperii Ottomanici*, p. 45. tom. i. of the French edition) gives an account of this matter different from the two now mentioned,

B b 3

Indians,

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T I.

Indians, and the province of *Cathay*, fell, in their turn, before the victorious Tartar, and were all either put to death, or rendered tributary; nor did GENGHIZKAN stop here, but proceeding into *Persia*, *India*, and *Arabia*, he overturned the Saracen dominion in those regions, and substituted that of the Tartars in its place [g]. From this period the Christian cause lost much of its authority and credit in the provinces that had been ruled by PRESTER JOHN and his *successor* DAVID, and continued to decline and lose ground from day to day, until, at length, it sunk entirely under the weight of oppression, and was succeeded in some places by the errors of MAHOMET, and in others by the superstitions of paganism. We must except, however, in this general account, the kingdom of *Tangut*, the chief residence of PRESTER JOHN, in which his posterity, who persevered in the profession of Christianity, maintained, for a long time, a certain sort of tributary dominion, which exhibited, indeed, but a faint shadow of their former grandeur [h].



P A R T II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during this century.

The state of
learning a-
mong the
Greeks.

I. NOTWITHSTANDING the decline of the Grecian empire, the calamities in which it was frequently involved, and the perpetual revolutions and affirms, upon the authority of the Arabian writers, the GENGHIZKAN did not invade the territories of his neighbours before the year 1214.

[g] See PETIT DE LA CROIX, *Histoire de Genghizkan*, p. 121, published in 12mo at Paris in the year 1711.—HRRBELO *Biblioth. Oriental.* at the article GENGHIZKAN, p. 378.—ASSEMAN *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. iii. part. I. p. 101, & 295.—JEAN DU PLAN CARPIN, *Voyage en Tartarie*, ch. v. in the *Recueil de Voyages au Nord*, tom. vii. p. 350.

[h] ASSEMAN *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. iii. part. I. p. 500.

civil wars that consumed its strength and were precipitating its ruin, the arts and sciences still flourished, in Greece, and covered with glory such as cultivated them with assiduity and success. This was owing, not only to the liberality of the emperors, and to the extraordinary zeal which the family of the COMNENI discovered for the advancement of learning, but also to the provident vigilance of the patriarchs of *Constantinople*, who took all possible measures to prevent the clergy from falling into ignorance and sloth, lest the Greek church should thus be deprived of able champions to defend its cause against the Latins. The learned and ingenious commentaries of EUSTATHIUS, bishop of *Thessalonica*, upon *Homer*, and DIONYSIUS the *Geographer*, are sufficient to shew the diligence and labour that were employed by men of the first genius in the improvement of classical erudition and in the study of antiquity. And if we turn our view towards the various writers who composed in this century the history of their own times, such as CINNAMUS, GLYCAS, ZONARAS, NICEPHORUS, BRYENNIUS, and others, we shall find in their productions undoubted marks of learning and genius, as well as of a laudable ambition to obtain the esteem and approbation of future ages.

II. Nothing could equal the zeal and enthusiasm with which MICHAEL ANCHIALUS, patriarch of *Constantinople*, encouraged the study of philosophy by his munificence, and still more by the extraordinary influence of his illustrious example [a]. It seems; however, to have been the Aristotelian philosophy, that was favoured in such a distinguished manner by this eminent prelate; and it was in the illustration and improvement of this profound and intricate system that such of the Greeks, as had a philosophical turn, were principally employed, as appears evident from several remains of ancient erudition, and particularly from the commentaries of EUSTRATIUS upon the ethics and other treatises of the Grecian sage. We are not, however, to imagine that the sublime wisdom of PLATO was neglected in this century, or that his doctrines were fallen into disrepute. It appears, on the contrary, that they

The state of
philosophy.

[a] THEODORUS BALSAMON, *Præf. ad Photii Nomocanonem* in HENR. JUSTELLI *Bibliotheca juris canonici veteris*, tom. ii. p. 814.

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T II.

The state of
learning
among the
Latins.

were adopted by many. Such more especially, as had imbibed the precepts and spirit of the Mystics, preferred them infinitely before the Peripatetic philosophy, which they considered as an endless source of sophistry and presumption, while they looked upon the Platonic system as the philosophy of reason and piety, of candour and virtue. This diversity of sentiments produced the famous controversy, which was managed with such vehemence and erudition among the Greeks, concerning the respective merit and excellence of the Peripatetic and Platonic doctrines.

III. In the western world, the pursuit of knowledge was now carried on with incredible emulation and ardour, and all the various branches of science were studied with the greatest application and industry. This literary enthusiasm was encouraged and supported by the influence and liberality of certain of the European monarchs, and Roman pontiffs, who perceived the happy tendency of the sciences to soften the savage manners of uncivilized nations, and thereby to administer an additional support to civil government, as well as an ornament to human society. Hence learned societies were formed, and colleges established in several places, in which the liberal arts and sciences were publicly taught. The prodigious concourse of students, who resorted thither for instruction, occasioned, in process of time, the enlargement of these schools, which had arisen from small beginnings, and their erection into *universities*, as they were called, in the succeeding age. The principal cities of *Europe* were adorned with establishments of this kind; but *Paris* surpassed them all in the number and variety of its schools, the merit and reputation of its public teachers, and the immense multitude of the studious youth that frequented their colleges. And thus was exhibited in that famous city the model of our present schools of learning; a model indeed defective in several respects, but which, in after-times, was corrected and improved, and brought gradually to higher degrees of perfection [b]. About the same time the famous school of *Angers*, in which the youth were instructed in various sciences, and

[b] DE BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 463.—PASQUIER, *Recherches de la France*, livr. iii. ch. xxix.—PETRI LAMBECHII *Histor. Biblioth. Vindobon.* lib. ii. cap. v. p. 260.—*Histoire Littér. de la France*, tom. ix. p. 60—80.

particularly

particularly and principally in the civil law, was founded by the zeal and industry of ULGERIUS, bishop of that city [c], and the college of *Montpellier*, where law and physic were taught with great success, had already acquired a considerable reputation [d]. The same literary spirit reigned also in *Italy*. The academy of *Bolonia*, whose origin may certainly be traced higher than this century, was now in the highest renown, and was frequented by great numbers of students, and of such more especially as were desirous of being instructed in the civil and canon laws. The fame of this academy was, in a great measure, owing to the munificence of the emperor LOTHARIUS II, who took it under his protection, and enriched it with new privileges and immunities [e]. In the same province flourished also the celebrated school of *Salernum*, where great numbers resorted, and which was wholly set apart for the study of physic. While this zealous emulation, in advancing the cause of learning and philosophy, animated to many princes and prelates, and discovered itself in the erection of so many academies and schools of learning, the Roman pontif, ALEXANDER III, was seized also with this noble enthusiasm. In a council held at *Rome* A. D. 1179, he caused a solemn law to be published, for the erecting new schools in the monasteries and cathedrals, and restoring to their primitive lustre those which, through the sloth and ignorance

[c] BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. ii. p. 215.—PASQUET DE LA LIVONIERE, *Dissert. sur l'Antiquité de l'Université d'Angers*, p. 21. published in 4to at Angers, 1736.

[d] *Histoire Gen. de Languedoc, par les Benedictins*, tom. ii. p. 517.

[e] The inhabitants of *Bolonia* pretend, that their academy was founded in the vth century by THEODOSIUS II, and they shew the diploma by which that emperor enriched their city with this valuable establishment. But the greatest part of those writers, who have studied with attention and impartiality the records of antient times, maintain, that this diploma is a spurious production, and alledge many weighty arguments to prove that the academy of *Bolonia* is of no older date than the xith century, and that in the succeeding age, particularly from the time of LOTHARIUS II, it received those improvements that rendered it so famous throughout all *Europe*. See CAR. SIGONII *Historia Bononiensis*, as it is published, with learned observations, in the works of that excellent author. MURATORI *Antiqq. Italic. medii ævi*, tom. iii. p. 23. 884. 898.—JUST. HENN. BOHMERI *Præfat. ad Corpus juris Canon.* p. 9. as also the elegant *History of the Academy of Bolonia*, written in the German language by the learned KEUFELIUS, and published at *Helmstadt* in 8vo in the year 1750.

of

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T II.

A new divi-
sion of
sciences.

of the monks and bishops, had fallen into ruin [f]. But the effect which this law was intended to produce was prevented by the growing fame of the new erected academies, to which the youth resorted from all parts, and left the *episcopal* and *monastic* schools entirely empty; so that they gradually declined, and sunk, at last, into a total oblivion.

IV. Many were the signal advantages that attended these literary establishments; and, what is particularly worthy of notice, they not only rendered knowledge more universal by facilitating the means of instruction, but were also the occasion of forming a new circle of sciences, better digested, and much more comprehensive than that which had been hitherto studied by the greatest adepts in learning. The whole extent of learning and philosophy, before this period, was confined to the *seven liberal arts*, as they were commonly called, of which three were known by the name of the *trivium*, which comprehended *grammar*, *rhetoric*, and *logic*; and the other four by the title of *quadrivium*, which included *arithmetic*, *music*, *geometry*, and *astronomy*. The greatest part of the learned, as we have formerly observed, were satisfied with their literary acquisitions, when they had made themselves masters of the *trivium*, while such as, with an adventurous flight, aspired after the *quadrivium*, were considered as stars of the first magnitude, as the great luminaries of the learned world. But in this century the aspect of letters underwent a considerable and an advantageous change. The number of the *liberal arts* and sciences was augmented, and new and unfrequented paths of knowledge were opened to the emulation of the studious youth. *Theology* was placed in the number of the sciences, not that antient theology which had no merit but its simplicity, and which was drawn, without the least order or connexion, from divers passages of the holy scriptures, and from the opinions and inventions of the primitive doctors, but that *philosophical* or *scholastic theology*, that with the deepest abstraction traced divine truth to its first principles, and followed it from thence into its various connexions and branches. Nor was theo-

[f] See B. BOHMERS *Jus. Eccles. Protestant.* tom. iv. p. 705.

logy alone added to the ancient circle of sciences; the study of the learned languages, of the civil and canon law, and of physic [g], were now brought into high repute. Particular academies were consecrated to the culture of each of these sciences in various places; and thus it was natural to consider them as important branches of erudition, and an acquaintance with them as a qualification necessary to such as aimed at universal learning. All this required a considerable change in the division of the sciences hitherto received; and this change was accordingly brought about. The seven *liberal arts* were, by degrees, reduced to one general title, and were comprehended under the name of philosophy, to which *theology*, *juris-prudence*, and *physic* were added. And hence the origin of the four classes of science, or, to use the academical phrase, of the four faculties, which took place in the *universities* in the following century.

V. A happy and unexpected event restored in *Italy* the lustre and authority of the ancient Roman law, and, at the same time, lessened the credit of all the other systems of legislation that had been received for several ages past. This event was the discovery of the original manuscript of the famous *Pandect* of JUSTINIAN, which was found in the ruins of *Amalphi*, or *Melfi*, when that city was taken by LOTHARIUS II, in the year 1137, and of which that emperor made a present to the inhabitants of *Pisa*, whose fleet had contributed, in a particular manner, to the success of the siege. This admirable collection, which had been almost buried in oblivion, was no sooner recovered than the Roman law became the grand object of the studies and labours of the learned. In the academy of *Bolonia*, there were particular colleges erected expressly for the study of the Roman jurisprudence; and these excellent institutions were multiplied in several parts of *Italy* in process of time, and animated other European nations to imitate so wise an example. Hence arose a great revolution in the public tribunals, and an entire change in their judicial pro-

The study of
Roman law
revived.

[g] The word *physica*, though, according to its etymology, it denotes the study of natural philosophy in general, was, in the *XII*th century, applied particularly to medicinal studies, and it has also preserved that limited sense in the English language.

cedings.

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T II.

ceedings. Hitherto different systems of law were followed in different courts, and every person of distinction, particularly among the Franks, had the liberty of choosing the body of laws, that was to be the rule of his conduct. But the Roman law acquired such credit and authority, that it superseded, by degrees, all other laws in the greatest part of *Europe*, and was substituted in the place of the Salic, Lombard, and Burgundian codes, which before this period were in the highest reputation. It is an ancient opinion, that **LOTHARIUS II**, pursuant to the counsels and solicitations of **IRNERIUS** [b], principal professor of the Roman law in the academy of *Bolonia*, published an edict enjoining the abrogation of all the statutes then in force, and substituting in their place the Roman law, by which, for the future, all without exception were to modify their contracts, terminate their differences, and to regulate their actions. But this opinion, as many learned men have abundantly proved [i], is far from being supported by sufficient evidence.

Ecclesiastical or canon law.

VI. No sooner was the civil law placed in the number of the sciences, and considered as an important branch of academical learning, than the Roman pontiffs, and their zealous adherents, judged it not only expedient, but also highly necessary, that the *canon* law, should have the same privilege. There were not wanting before this time certain collections of the *canons* or laws of the church; but these collections were so destitute of order and method, and were so defective both in respect to matter and form, that they could not be conveniently explained in the schools, or be made use of as systems of ecclesiastical polity. Hence

[b] Otherwise called **WERNER**.

[i] See **HERM. CONRINGIUS**, *De origine juris Germanici*, cap. xxii. --- **GUIDO GRAGDUS**, *Epist. de Pandectis*, p. 21. 69. published at Florence in 4to. in 1737. --- **HENRY BRENCMANN**, *Historia Pandectar.* p. 41. --- **LUD. ANT. MURATORI** *Præf. ad Leges Langobardicas, scriptor. rerum Italicar.* tom. i. part. II. p. 4. & *Antiqq. Ital. mediævi*, tom. ii. p. 285. There was a warm controversy carried on concerning this matter between **GEORGE CALLIXTUS** and **BARTHOL. NIHUSIUS**, the latter of whom embraced the vulgar opinion concerning the edict of **LOTHARIUS**, obtained by the solicitations of **IRNERIUS**; of this controversy there is a circumstantial account in the *Cimbria Litterata* of **MOLLERUS**, tom. iii. p. 142.

it

it was, that GRATIAN, a Benedictine monk, belonging to the convent of St. FELIX and NABOR at *Bolonia*, and by birth a Tuscan, composed about the year 1130, for the use of the schools, an abridgment, or *Epitome of canon law*, drawn from the letters of the pontifs, the decrees of councils, and the writings of the ancient doctors. Pope EUGENIUS III was extremely satisfied with this work, which was also received with the highest applause by the doctors and professors of *Bolonia*, and was unanimously adopted, as the text they were to follow in their public lectures. The professors at *Paris* were the first that followed the example of those of *Bolonia*, which, in process of time, was imitated by the greatest part of the European colleges. But, notwithstanding the encomiums bestowed upon this performance, which was commonly called the *decretal of GRATIAN* [k], and was intitled by the author himself, the *reunion or coalition of the jarring canons* [l], several most learned and eminent writers of the Romish communion acknowledge, that it is full of errors and defects of various kinds [m]. As, however, the main design of this abridgment of the canons was to support the despotism, and to extend the authority of the Roman pontifs; its innumerable defects were overlooked; its merits were exaggerated; and, what is still more surprizing, it enjoys at this day, in an age of light and liberty, that high degree of veneration and authority, which was inconsiderately, though more excusably, lavished upon it in an age of tyranny, superstition, and darkness [n].

[k] *Decretum GRATIANI*.

[l] *Concordia Discordantium Canonum*.

[m] See, among others, ANTON. AUGUSTINUS, *De Emendatione GRATIANI*, published in 8vo at *Arnhem*, A. D. 1678, with the learned observations of STEPH. BALUZIUS and GER. a MASTRICHT.

[n] See GERHARD a MASTRICHT, *Historia juris Ecclesiastici*, § 293. p. 325.—B. JUST. HENN. BOHMERI *Jus Eccles. Protestant.* tom. i. p. 100. and more particularly the learned *Preface*, with which this last mentioned author enriched the new edition of the *Canon Law*, published at *Hal*, in 4to. in the year 1747. See also ALEX. MACHIAVELLI *Observationes ad Sigonii Histor. Bononiensem*, tom. iii. *Oper. Sigonii*, p. 128. This writer has drawn from the *Kalendarium Archigymnasii Bononiensis*, several particularities concerning GRATIAN and his work, which were generally unknown, but whose truth is also much disputed. What increases the suspicion

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T II.The state of
philosophy
among the
Latins.

VII. Such among the Latins, as were ambitious of making a figure in the republic of letters, applied themselves, with the utmost zeal and diligence, to the study of philosophy. Philosophy, taken in its most extensive and general meaning, comprehended, according to the method which was the most universally received towards the middle of this century, four classes; it was divided into *theoretical, practical, mechanical, and logical*. The first class comprehended *natural theology, mathematics, and natural philosophy*. In the second class were ranked *ethics, æconomics, and politics*. The third contained the seven arts that are more immediately subservient to the purposes of life, such as *navigation, agriculture, hunting, &c.* The fourth was divided into *grammar and composition*, the latter of which was farther subdivided into *rhetoric, dialectic, and sophistry*; and under the term *dialectic* was comprehended that part of *metaphysic* which treats of *general notions*. This division was almost universally adopted. Some, indeed, were for separating *grammar and mechanics* from *philosophy*; a separation highly condemned by others, who, under the general term philosophy, comprehended the whole circle of the sciences [o].

Diffensions
among the
philosophers

VIII. The learned, who treated these different branches of science, were divided into various factions, which attacked each other with the utmost animosity and bitterness [p]. There were, at this time, *three* methods of teaching philosophy that were practised by different doctors. The *first* was the *ancient and plain* method, which confined its researches to the philosophical notions of PORPHYRY, and the *dialectic* system, commonly attributed to St. AUGUS-

of their being fabulous is, that this famous *Kalendar*, of which the Bolonians boast so much, and which they have so often promised to publish in order to dispel the doubts of the learned, has never as yet seen the light. Besides, in the fragments that have appeared, there are manifest marks of unfair dealing.

[o] These literary anecdotes I have taken from several writers, particularly from HUGO a St. VICTOR, *Didascali Libro ii. cap. ii. p. 7. tom. i. opp.* and from the *Metalogicum* of JOHN of Salisbury.

[p] See GODOF. de St. VICTOR. *Carmen de Sectis Philosoph.* published by LE BOEUF, in his *Diff. sur l'Histoire Ecclesiast. et Civile de Paris. tom. ii. p. 254.*—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. ii. p. 562.*—ANT. WOOD, *Antiq. Oxoniens. tom. i. p. 51.*—JO. SARISBURIENSIS *Metalog. et Policrat. passim.*

TINE,

TINE, and in which was laid down this general rule, that philosophical inquiries were to be limited to a small number of subjects, lest, by their becoming too extensive, religion might suffer by a profane mixture of human subtilty with its divine wisdom. The *second* method was called the *Aristotelian*, because it consisted in explications of the works of that philosopher [q], several of whose books, being translated into Latin, were now almost every where in the hands of the learned. These translations were, indeed, extremely obscure and incorrect, and led those, who made use of them in their academical lectures, into various blunders, and often into notions, which were not more absurd than whimsical and singular. The *third* was termed the *free method*, employed by such as were bold enough to search after truth, in the manner they thought the most adapted to render their inquiries successful, and who followed the bent of their own genius, without rejecting, however, the succours of ARISTOTLE and PLATO. Laudable as this method was, it became an abundant source of sophistry and chicane by the imprudent management of those that employed it; for these subtle doctors, through a wanton indulgence of their metaphysical fancies, did little more than puzzle their disciples with vain questions, and fatigue them with endless distinctions and divisions [r]. These different systems, and vehement contests that divided the philosophers, gave many persons a disgust against philosophy in general, and made them desire, with impatience, its banishment from the public schools.

IX. Of all the controversies that divided the philosophers in this century, there were none carried on with greater

The contests of the Dialecticians, Realists and Nominalists described.

[q] ROB. DE MONTE, *Append. ad Sigebertum Gemblacens.* published by LUC. DACHERIUS, among the works of GUIBERT, abbot of Nogent, ad A. 1128, p. 753. *Jacobus Clericus de Venecia transtulit de Græco in Latinum quosdam libros Aristotelis et commentatus est, scilicet Topica, Anal. priores et posteriores et elenchos. Quamvis antiquior translatio super eisdem libris haberetur.* THOM. BECKET, *Epistolar.* lib. ii. ep. xciii. p. 454. edit. Bruxell. 1682, in 4to. *Itero preces, quatenus libros Aristotelis, quos habetis, mihi faciatis describi . . . Precor etiam iterata supplicatione, quatenus in operibus Aristotelis, ubi difficiliora fuerint, notulas faciatis, eo quod interpretem aliquatenus suspectum habeo, quia licet eloquens fuerit alias, ut sæpe audiui, minus tamen fuit in grammatica institutus.*

[r] See JO. SARISBERIENSIS *Policrat.* p. 434. et *Metalog.* p. 814, &c.

animosity,

C E N T.
XII.
PART II.

animosity, and treated with greater subtilty and refinement, than the contests of the *Dialectics* concerning *universals*. These sophistical doctors were wholly occupied about the intricate questions relating to *genus* and *species*, to the solution of which they directed all their philosophical efforts, and the whole course of their metaphysical studies; but not all in the same method, nor upon the same principles [s]. The two leading sects into which they had been divided long before this period, and which were distinguished by the titles of *Realists* and *Nominalists*, not only subsisted still, but were moreover subdivided, each into smaller parties and factions, according as the two opposite and leading schemes were modified by new fancies and inventions. The *Nominalists*, though they had their followers, were nevertheless much inferior to the *Realists* both with respect to the number of their disciples, and to the credit and reputation of their doctrine. A third sect arose under the name of *Formalists*, who pretended to terminate the controversy, by steering a middle course between the two jarring systems now mentioned; but, as the hypothesis of these new doctors was most obscure and unintelligible, they only perplexed matters more than they had hitherto been, and furnished new subjects of contention and dispute [t].

[s] JOHN of *Salisbury*, a very elegant and ingenious writer of this age, censures, with a good deal of wit, the crude and unintelligible speculations of these sophists, in his book entitled, *Policraticon seu de Nugis Curialium* lib. vii. p. 451. He observes, that there had been more time consumed in resolving the question relating to *genus* and *species*, than the *Cæsars* had employed in making themselves masters of the whole world; that the riches of *CROESUS* were inferior to the treasures that had been exhausted in this controversy; and that the contending parties, after having spent their whole lives upon this single point, had neither been so happy as to determine it to their satisfaction, nor to make, in the labyrinths of science where they had been groping, any discovery that was worth the pains they had taken. His words are: *Veterem paratus est solvere questionem de generibus et speciebus* (he speaks here of a certain philosopher) *in qua laborans mundus jam senuit, in qua plus temporis consumptum est, quam in acquirendo et regendo orbis imperio consumserit Cæsarea domus: plus effusum pecuniæ, quam in omnibus divitiis suis possederit Cræsus. Hæc enim tamdiu multos tenuit, ut cum hoc unum tota vita quærerent, tandem nec istud, nec aliud invenirent.*

[t] See the above cited author's *Policrat.* lib. vii. p. 451. where he gives a succinct account of the *Formalists*, *Realists*, and *Nominalists*.

Thole

Those among the learned; who turned their pursuits to more interesting and beneficial branches of science, than the intricate and puzzling doctrine of *universals*, travelled into the different countries, where the kinds of knowledge they were bent upon cultivating, flourished most. The students of physic, astronomy, and mathematics, continued to frequent the schools of the Saracens in *Spain*. Many of the learned productions of the Arabians were also translated into Latin [u]; for the high esteem in which the

in the following words: *Sunt qui more mathematicorum FORMAS abstrahunt, et ad illas quicquid de universalibus dicitur referunt.* Such were the *Formalists*, who applied the doctrine of universal ideas to what the mathematicians call *abstract forms*. *Alii discutiunt INTELLECTUS et eos universalium nominibus censerī confirmant.* Here we find the *Realists* pointed out, who, under the name of *universals*, comprehended all intellectual powers, qualities, and ideas. *Fuerunt et qui VOCES ipsas genera dicerent et species: sed eorum jam explosa sententia est et facile cum autore suo evanuit.* *Sunt tamen adhuc, qui deprehenduntur in vestigiis eorum, licet erubescant vel auctorem vel scientiam profiteri, SOLIS NOMINIBUS inherentes, quod rebus et intellectibus subtrahunt, SERMONIBUS ascribunt.* This was a sect of the *Nominalists*, who, ashamed (as this author alledges) to profess the exploded doctrine of *ROSCELLINUS*, which placed *genus* and *species* in the class of *mere words*, or *simple denominations*, modified that system by a slight change of expression only, which did not essentially distinguish their doctrine from that of the ordinary *Nominalists*. It appears from all this, that the sect of the *Formalists* is of more antient date than *JOHN DUNS SCOTUS*, whom many learned men consider as its founder. See *JO. SARISBER. Metalogic.* lib. ii. cap. xvii. p. 814. where that eminent author describes at large the various contests of these three sects, and sums up their differences in the following words; *Alius consistit in vocibus, licet hæc opinio cum Roscellino suo fere jam evanuerit: alius sermones intuetur: alius versatur in intellectibus, &c.*

[u] *GERHARD* of *Cremona*, who was so famous among the Italians for his eminent skill in astronomy and physic, undertook a voyage to *Toledo*, where he translated into Latin several Arabian treatises; see *MURATORI Antiqq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iii. p. 936, 937.—*MIRMET*, a French monk, travelled into *Spain* and *Africa*, to learn geography among the Saracens. See *LUC. DACHERII Spicilegium vet. scriptor.* tom. ix. p. 443. ed. *Antiq.*—*DANIEL MORLACH*, an Englishman, who was extremely fond of mathematical learning, went a journey to *Toledo*, from whence he brought into his own country a considerable number of Arabian books; *ANT. WOOD, Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 55.—*PETER*, abbot of *Clugni*, surnamed the *Venerable*, after having sojourned for some time among the Spaniards in order to make himself master of the Arabian language, translated into Latin, the *Alcoran*, and the *Life of Mahomet*;

C E N T.
XII.
PART II.

erudition of that people was held, together with a desire of converting the Spanish Saracens to Christianity, had excited many to study their language, and to acquire a considerable knowledge of their doctrine.

CHAP. II.

Concerning the doctors and ministers of the church, and its form of government, during this century.

The lives
and manners
of the clergy.

I. **W**HEREVER we turn our eyes among the various ranks and orders of the clergy, we perceive, in this century, the most flagrant marks of licentiousness and fraud, ignorance and luxury, and other vices, whose pernicious effects were deeply felt both in church and state. If we except a very small number, who retained a sense of the sanctity of their vocation, and lamented the corruption and degeneracy of their order, it may be said, with respect to the rest, that their whole business was to satisfy their lusts, to multiply their privileges by grasping perpetually at new honours and distinctions, to increase their opulence, to diminish the authority, and to inroach upon the privileges of princes and magistrates, and, neglecting entirely the interests of religion and the cure of souls, to live in ease and pleasure, and draw out their days in an unmanly and luxurious indolence. This appears manifestly from two remarkable treatises of St. BERNARD, in one of which he exposes the corruption of the pontiffs and bishops [w], while he describes in the other the enormous crimes of the monastic orders, whose licentiousness he chastises with a just severity [x].

see MABILLON, *Annal. Bened.* tom. vi. lib. lxxvii. p. 345. This eminent ecclesiastic, as appears from the *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis* p. 1169. found upon his arrival in Spain, persons of learning from England and other nations, who applied themselves with extraordinary assiduity and ardour to the study of astrology. We might multiply the examples of those who travelled in quest of science during this century; but those now alledged are sufficient for our purpose.

[w] In the work entitled, *Considerationum Libri v. ad Eugenium Pontificem*.

[x] See his defence of the crusades under the title of *Apologia ad Guilielmum Abbatem*; as also GERHOFUS, *De corrupto Ecclesie Statu*.

II. The

II. The Roman pontifs, who were placed successively at the head of the church, governed that spiritual and mystical body by the maxims of worldly ambition, and thereby fomented the warm contest that had already arisen between the imperial and sacerdotal powers. On the one hand, the popes not only maintained the opulence and authority they had already acquired, but extended their views farther, and laboured strenuously to enlarge both, though they had not all equal success in this ambitious attempt. The European emperors and princes, on the other hand, alarmed at the strides which the pontifs were making to universal dominion, used their utmost efforts to disconcert their measures, and to check their growing opulence and power. These violent dissensions between the *empire* and the *priesthood* (for so the contending parties were styled in this century) were most unhappy in their effects, which were felt throughout all the European provinces. PASCAL II, who had been raised to the pontificate about the conclusion of the preceding age, seemed now to sit firm and secure in the apostolic chair, without the least apprehension from the imperial faction, whose affairs had taken an unfavourable turn, and who had not the courage to elect a new pope of their party in the place of GUIBERT, who died in the year 1100 [y].

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T II.

The pontifs ambitious to extend their authority.

PASCAL, therefore, unwilling to let pass unimproved the present success of the papal faction, renewed, in a council assembled at Rome A. D. 1102, the decrees of his predecessors against *investitures*, and the excommunications they had thundered out against HENRY IV, and used his most vigorous endeavours to raise up on all sides new enemies to that unfortunate emperor. HENRY, however, opposed, with great constancy and resolution, the efforts of this violent pontif, and eluded with much dexterity and

The dispute concerning investitures is fomented anew.

in BALUZII *Miscell.* tom. v. p. 63.—*Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 6. *App.* tom. ii. p. 265. 273, &c. BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. 490. 690.

[y] Dr. MOSHEIM's affirmation here must be somewhat modified in order to be true; it is certain, that, after the death of GUIBERT, the imperial party chose in his place a person named ALBERT, who, indeed, was seized the day of his election, and cast into prison. THEODORIC and MAGNUS, were successively chosen after ALBERT, but could not support for any time their claim to the pontificate. See FLEURY, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. lxxv. vol. xiv. p. 10. *Brussels* edition in 8vo.

CENT.
XII.
PART II.

vigilance his perfidious stratagems. But his heart, wounded in the tenderest part, lost all its firmness and courage, when, in the year 1106, an unnatural son, under the impious pretext of religion, took up arms against his person and his cause. HENRY V, so was this monster afterwards named, seized his father in a most treacherous manner, and obliged him to abdicate the empire; after which the unhappy prince retired to *Liege*, where, deserted by all his adherents, he departed this life, and so got rid of his misery in the year 1106. It has been a matter of dispute, whether it was the instigation of the pontif, or the ambitious and impatient thirst after dominion, that engaged HENRY V to declare war against his father; nor is it, perhaps, easy to decide this question with a perfect degree of evidence. One thing, however, is unquestionably certain, and that is, that PASCAL II dissolved, or rather impiously pretended to dissolve, the oath of fidelity and obedience that HENRY had taken to his father; and not only so, but adopted the cause and supported the interests of this unnatural rebel with the utmost zeal, assiduity, and fervour [2].

The progress
of this de-
bate.

III. The revolution, that this odious rebellion caused in the empire, was, however, much less favourable to the views of PASCAL than that lordly pontif expected. HENRY V could by no means be persuaded to renounce his right of *investing* the bishops and abbots, though he was willing to grant the right of election to the *canons* and *monks*, as was usual before his time. Upon this the exasperated pontif renewed, in the councils of *Guastalla* and *Troyers*, the decrees that had so often been issued out against *investitures*, and the flame broke out with new force. It was, indeed suspended during a few years, by the wars in which HENRY V was engaged, and which prevented his bringing the matter to an issue. But no sooner had he made peace with his enemies, and composed the tumults that troubled the tranquillity of the empire, than he set out for *Italy* with a formidable army, A. D. 1110, in order to put an end to

[2] These accounts are drawn from the most authentic sources, and also from the eminent writers, whose authority I made use of, and whose names I mentioned in that part of the preceding century that corresponds with the subject here treated.

this long and unhappy contest. He advanced towards *Rome* by slow marches, while the trembling pontif, seeing himself destitute of all succour, and reduced to the lowest and most defenceless condition, proposed to him the following conditions of peace: That he, on the one hand, should renounce the right of *investing* with the *ring* and *crozier*; and that the bishops and abbots should, on the other hand, resign and give over to the emperor all the grants they had received from CHARLEMAGNE, of those rights and privileges that belong to royalty, such as the power of raising tribute, coining money, and possessing independent lands and territories, with other immunities of a like nature. These conditions were agreeable to HENRY, who accordingly gave a formal consent to them in the year 1111; but they were extremely displeasing to the Italian and German bishops, who expressed their dissent in the strongest terms. Hence a terrible tumult arose in the church of St. PETER, where the contending parties were assembled with their respective followers, upon which HENRY ordered the pope to be seized, and to be confined in the castle of *Viterbo*. After having lain there for some time, the captive pontif was engaged, by the unhappy circumstances of his present condition, to enter into a new convention, by which he solemnly receded from the article of the former treaty that regarded *investitures*, and confirmed to the emperor the privilege of inaugurating the bishops and abbots with the *ring* and *crozier*. Thus was the peace concluded, in consequence of which the vanquished pontif arrayed HENRY with the imperial diadem [a].

IV. This transitory peace, which was the fruit of violence and necessity, was followed by greater tumults and more dreadful wars, than had yet afflicted the church. Immediately after the conclusion of this treaty, *Rome* was filled with the most vehement commotions, and a universal cry was raised against the pontif, who was accused of having violated, in a scandalous manner, the duties and dignity of his station, and of having prostituted the majesty of the

Pascal
breaks this
convention
and dies.

[a] Besides the writers already mentioned, see MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. v. p. 681. and tom. vi. p. 1. at the particular years, to which the events here taken notice of, belong.

CENT.
XII.
PART II.

church by his ignominious compliance with the demands of the emperor. To appease these commotions, PASCAL assembled, in the year 1112, a council in the church of *Lateran*, and there not only confessed, with the deepest contrition and humility, the fault he had committed in concluding such a convention with the emperor, but submitted moreover the decision of that matter to the determination of the council, who accordingly took that treaty into consideration, and solemnly annulled it [b]. This step was followed by many events that gave, for a long time, an unfavourable turn to the affairs of the emperor. He was excommunicated in many synods and councils both in *France* and *Germany*; nay, he was placed in the black list of *heretics*, a denomination, which exposed to the greatest dangers in these superstitious and barbarous times [c]; and, to complete his anxiety, he saw the German princes revolting from his authority in several places, and taking up arms in the cause of the church. To put an end to the calamities that thus afflicted the empire on all sides, HENRY set out a second time for *Italy*, with a numerous army, in the year 1116, and arrived the year following at *Rome*, where he assembled the consuls, senators, and nobles, while the fugitive pontif retired to *Benevento*. PASCAL, however, during this forced absence, engaged the Normans to come to his assistance, and, encouraged by the prospect of immediate succour, prepared every thing for a vigorous war against the emperor, and attempted to make himself master of *Rome*. But, in the midst of these warlike preparations, which drew the attention of *Europe*, and portended great and remarkable events, the military pontif yielded to fate, and concluded his days A. D. 1118.

V. A few days after the death of PASCAL, JOHN of *Gaieta*, a Benedictine monk of *Montcassin*, and chancellor of the Roman church, was raised to the pontificate under

[b] PASCAL, upon this occasion, as GREGORY VII had formerly done in the case of BERENGER, submitted his proceedings and his authority to the judgment of a council, to which, of consequence, he acknowledged his subordination. Nay, still more, that council condemned his measures, and declared them scandalous.

[c] See GERVAISE, *Diff. sur l'Herésie des investitures*, which is the fourth of the *Dissertations* which he has prefixed to his *History of the Abbot Suger*.

the

the title of GELASIUS II. In opposition to this choice, HENRY elected to the same dignity MAURICE BURDIN, archbishop of *Braga* in *Spain* [d], who assumed the denomination of GREGORY VIII [e]. Upon this, GELASIUS, not thinking himself safe at *Rome*, nor indeed in *Italy*, set out for *France*, and in a little time after died at *Clugni*. The *Cardinals*, who accompanied him in his journey, elected to the papacy, immediately after his departure, GUY archbishop of *Vienne*, count of *Burgundy*, who was nearly related to the emperor, and is distinguished in the list of the Roman pontiffs by the name of CALLIXTUS II. The elevation of this eminent ecclesiastic was, in the issue, extremely happy both for church and state. Remarkably distinguished by his illustrious birth, and still more by his noble and heroic qualities, this magnanimous pontif continued to oppose the emperor with courage and success, and to carry on the war both with the sword of the spirit, and with the arm of flesh. He made himself master of *Rome*, threw into prison the pontif that had been chosen by the emperor, and fomented the civil commotions in *Germany*. But his fortitude and resolution were tempered with moderation, and accompanied with a spirit of generosity and compliance, which differed much from the obstinate arrogance of his lordly predecessors. Accordingly, he lent an ear to pacific counsels, and was willing to relinquish a part of the demands upon which the former pontiffs had so vehemently insisted, that he might restore the public tranquillity, and satisfy the ardent desires of so many nations, who groaned under the dismal effects of these deplorable divisions [f].

It will appear unquestionably evident to every attentive and impartial observer of things, that the illiberal and brutish manners of those who ruled the church were the only reason that rendered the dispute concerning *investi-*

[d] *Braga* was the metropolis of ancient *Galicia*, but at present is one of the three archbishoprics of *Portugal*, in the province of *Entre Duero e Migno*. The archbishop of that see claims the title of primate of *Spain*, which is annexed in *Spain* to the see of *Toledo*.

[e] See STEPHANI BALUZII *Vita Mauriti Burdini, Miscellaneor.* tom. iii. p. 471.

[f] The paragraph following is the note [f] of the original placed in the text.

C. E. N. T.
XII.
PART II.

Peace is
concluded
between the
pope and the
emperor
upon certain
conditions.

tures so violent and cruel, so tedious in its duration, and so unhappy in its effects. During the space of five and fifty years, the church was governed by monks, who, to the obscurity of their birth, the asperity of their natural temper, and the unbounded rapacity of their ambition and avarice, joined that inflexible obstinacy which is one of the essential characteristics of the monastic order. Hence those bitter feuds, those furious efforts of ambition and vengeance, that dishonoured the church and afflicted the state during the course of this controversy. But as soon as the papal chair was filled by a man of an ingenuous turn, and of a liberal education, the face of things changed entirely, and a prospect of peace arose to the desires and hopes of ruined and desolate countries.

VI. These hopes were not disappointed; for, after much contestation, peace was, at length, concluded between the emperor and the pope's legates, at a general diet held at *Worms* A. D. 1122. The conditions were as follow:

“That for the future the bishops and abbots shall be chosen by those to whom the right of election belongs [g]; but that this election shall be made in presence of the emperor, or of an ambassador appointed by him for that purpose [h]:

“That, in case a dispute arise among the electors, the decision of it shall be left to the emperor, who is to consult with the bishops upon that occasion:

“That the bishop or abbot elect shall take an oath of allegiance to the emperor, receive from his hand the *regalia*, and do homage for them:

“That the emperor shall no more confer the *regalia* by the ceremony of the *ring* and *crozier*, which are the ensigns of a ghostly dignity, but by that of the *scepter*, which is more proper to invest the person elected in the possession of rights and privileges merely temporal [i].”

[g] The expression is ambiguous, but it signifies that the election of bishops and abbots was to be made by monks and canons as in former times.

[h] From this period the people in *Germany* were excluded from the right of voting in the election of bishops. See PETR. DE MARCA, *De concordia sacerdotii et imperii*, lib. vi. cap. ii. § 9. p. 783. edit. Bohmeri.

[i] See MURATORI *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. vi. p. 76.—

This convention was solemnly confirmed the year following in the general council of Lateran, and remains still in force in our times ; though the true sense of some of its articles has occasioned disputes between the emperors and pontifs [k].

VII. CALLIXTUS did not long enjoy the fruits of this peace, to which he had so much contributed by his prudence and moderation. He departed this life in the year 1124, and was succeeded by LAMBERT, bishop of *Ostia*, who assumed the title of HONORIUS II, and under whose pontificate nothing worthy of mention was transacted. His death, which happened A. D. 1130, gave rise to a considerable schism in the church of *Rome*, or rather in the college of cardinals, of whom one party elected to the papal chair, GREGORY, a cardinal deacon of *St. Angelo*, who was distinguished by the name of INNOCENT II, while the other chose for successor to HONORIUS, PETER, the son of LEO, a Roman prince, under the title of ANACLETUS II. The party of INNOCENT was far from being numerous in *Rome*, or throughout *Italy* in general, for which reason he judged it expedient to retire into *France*, where he had many adherents, and where he sojourned during the space of two years. His credit was very great out of *Italy* ; for, besides the emperor LOTHARIUS, the kings of *England*, *France*, and *Spain*, with other princes, espoused warmly the cause of INNOCENT, and that principally by the influence of St. BERNARD, who was his intimate friend, and whose counsels had the force and authority of laws in almost all the countries of *Europe*. The patrons of ANACLETUS were fewer in number, and were confined to the kings of *Sicily* and *Scotland* ; his death, however, which happened A. D. 1138, terminated the contest, and left INNOCENT in the entire and undisputed possession of the apostolic chair. The surviving pontif presided, in the year 1139, at the second council of La-

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T II.

Two popes
raised at the
same time to
the pontifi-
cate.

SCHILTERUS, *De Libertate Eccl. Germanicæ*, lib. iv. cap. iv. p. 545.

—CÆSAR RASPONUS, *De Basilica Lateranensi*, lib. iv. p. 295.

[k] It was disputed among other things, whether the consecration of the bishop elect was to precede or follow the collation of the regalia ? See JO. WILH. HOFFMAN. *ad concordatum Henrici V et Callisti II, Vitemberg*. 1739, in 4to.

teran,

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T II.

Succession
of the pon-
tiffs from the
death of In-
nocent to
the end of
this century.

The contest
between the
emperors
and popes is
renewed un-
der Frederic
Barbarossa
and Adrian
IV.

teran, and about four years after ended his days in peace [1].

VIII. After the death of INNOCENT, the Roman see was filled by GUY, cardinal of *St. Mark*, who ruled the church about five months, under the title of CELESTINE II. If his reign was short, it was however peaceable, and not like that of his successor LUCIUS II, whose pontificate was disturbed by various tumults and seditions, and who, about eleven months after his elevation to the papacy, was killed in a riot which he was endeavouring to suppress by his presence and authority. He was succeeded by BERNARD, a Cistercian monk, and an eminent disciple of the famous St. BERNARD, abbot of *Clairval*. This worthy ecclesiastic, who is distinguished among the popes by the title of EUGENIUS III, was raised to that high dignity in the year 1145, and, during the space of nine years, was involved in the same perils and perplexities that had embittered the ghostly reign of his predecessor. He was often obliged to leave *Rome*, and to save himself by flight from the fury of the people [m]; and the same reason engaged him to retire into *France*, where he sojourned for a considerable time. At length exhausted by the opposition he met with in supporting what he looked upon as the prerogatives of the papacy, he departed this life in the year 1153. The pontificate of his successor CONRAD, bishop of *Sabino*, who, after his elevation to the see of *Rome*, assumed the title of ANASTASIUS IV, was less disturbed by civil commotions, but it was also of a very short duration; for ANASTASIUS died about a year and four months after his election.

IX. The warm contest between the emperors and the popes, which was considered as at an end ever since the

[1] Besides the ordinary writers of the papal history, see JEAN DE LANNES, *Histoire du Pontificat du Pape Innocent II. Paris. 1741.* in 8vo.

[m] There was a party formed in *Rome* at this time, whose design was to restore the Roman senate to its former privileges and to its ancient splendor and glory; and, for this purpose, to reduce the papal revenues and prerogatives to a narrower compass, even to the tithes and oblations that were offered to the primitive bishops, and to the spiritual government of the church, attended with an utter exclusion from all civil jurisdiction over the city of *Rome*. It was this party that produced the feuds and seditions to which Dr. MOSHEIM has an eye in this eighth section.

time

time of CALLIXTUS II, was unhappily renewed under the pontificate of ADRIAN IV, who was a native of *England*, and whose original name was NICOLAS BREAKSPEAR. FREDERIC I, surnamed *Barbarossa*, was no sooner seated on the imperial throne, than he publicly declared his resolution to maintain the dignity and privileges of the Roman empire in general, and more particularly to render it respectable in *Italy*; nor was he at all studious to conceal the design he had formed of reducing the overgrown power and opulence of the pontifs and clergy within narrower limits. ADRIAN perceived the danger that threatened the majesty of the church, and the authority of the clergy, and prepared himself for defending both with vigour and constancy. The first occasion of trying their strength was offered at the coronation of the emperor at *Rome*, in the year 1155, when the pontif insisted upon FREDERIC's performing the office of equerry, and holding the stirrup to his Holiness. This humbling proposal was at first rejected with disdain by the emperor, and was followed by other contests of a more momentous nature relating to the political interests of the empire. These differences were no sooner reconciled than new disputes equally important arose in the year 1158, when the emperor, in order to put a stop to the enormous opulence of the pontifs, bishops, and monks, which increased from day to day, enacted a law to prevent the transferring of *fiefs* without the knowledge and consent of the superior or lord in whose name they were held [n], and turned the whole force of his arms to reduce the little republics of *Italy* under his dominion. An open rupture between the emperor and the pontif was expected as the inevitable consequence of such vigorous measures, when the death of ADRIAN, which happened on the first of *September*, A. D. 1159, suspended the storm [o].

[n] This prohibition of transferring the possession of *fiefs*, from one to another, without the consent of the supreme lord, or sovereign, under whom they were held, together with other laws of a like nature, was the first effectual barrier that was opposed to the enormous and growing opulence and authority of the clergy. See MURATORI *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. vi. p. 239.

[o] See the accurate and circumstantial account of this whole affair that is given by the illustrious and learned Count BUNAU, in his *History of Frederic I*, wrote in German, p. 45. 49. 73. 99. 105, &c. X. In

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T II.

A dispute
arises in the
election of
a new pon-
tif.

X. In the election of a new pontif, the cardinals were divided into two factions. The most numerous and powerful of the two raised to the pontificate ROLAND, bishop of *Sienna*, who assumed the name of ALEXANDER III, while the opposite party elected to that high dignity OCTAVIAN, cardinal of *St. Cecilia*, known by the title of VICTOR IV. The latter was patronised by the emperor, to whom ALEXANDER was extremely disagreeable on several accounts. The council of *Pavia*, which was assembled by the emperor in the year 1160, adopted his sentiments, and pronounced in favour of VICTOR, who became thereby triumphant in *Germany* and *Italy*; so that *France* alone was left open to ALEXANDER, who accordingly left *Rome*, and fled thither for safety and protection. Amidst the tumults and commotions which this schism occasioned, VICTOR died at *Lucca* in the year 1164, but his place was immediately filled by the emperor, at whose desire GUY, cardinal of *St. Calixtus*, was elected pontif under the title of PASCAL III, and acknowledged in that character by the German princes assembled in the year 1167, at the diet of *Wurtzburg*. In the mean time ALEXANDER recovered his spirits, and returning into *Italy* maintained his cause with uncommon resolution and vigour, and not without some promising hopes of success. He held at *Rome*, in the year 1167, the council of Lateran, in which he solemnly deposed the emperor (whom he had, upon several occasions before this period, loaded publicly with anathemas and execrations) dissolved the oath of allegiance which his subjects had taken to him as their lawful sovereign, and encouraged and exhorted them to rebel against his authority, and to shake off his yoke. But, soon after this audacious proceeding, the emperor made himself master of *Rome*, upon which the insolent pontif fled to *Benevento*, and left the apostolic chair to PASCAL, his competitor.

XI. The affairs of ALEXANDER seemed to take soon after a more prosperous turn, when the greatest part of the imperial army being consumed by a pestilential disorder, the emperor was forced to abandon *Italy*, and when the death of PASCAL, which happened in the year 1168, delivered him from such a powerful and formidable rival. But this fair prospect soon vanished. For the imperial
faction

faction elected to the pontificate JOHN, abbot of *Strum*, under the title of CALLIXTUS III, whom FREDERIC, notwithstanding his absence in *Germany*, and the various wars and disputes in which he was involved, supported to the utmost of his power. When peace was, in a good measure, restored in the empire, FREDERIC marched into *Italy*, A. D. 1174, with a design to chastise the perfidy of the states and cities that had revolted during his absence, and seized the first favourable opportunity of throwing off his yoke. Had this expedition been crowned with the expected success, ALEXANDER would, undoubtedly, have been obliged to desist from his pretensions, and to yield the papal chair to CALLIXTUS. But the event came far short of the hopes which this grand expedition had excited, and the emperor, after having, during the space of three years, been alternately defeated and victorious, was, at length, so fatigued with the hardships he had suffered, and so dejected at a view of the difficulties he had yet to overcome, that, in the year 1177, he concluded a treaty of peace at *Venice* with ALEXANDER III, and a truce with the rest of his enemies [p]. Certain writers affirm, that, upon this occasion, the haughty pontif trod upon the neck of the suppliant emperor, while he kissed his foot, repeating at the same time those words of the royal Psalmist: *Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet* [q]. The greatest part, however, of modern authors have called this event in question, and consider it as utterly destitute of authority and unworthy of credit [r].

[p] All the circumstances of these conventions are accurately related by the abovementioned Count BUNAU, in his *History of Frederic I*, p. 115—242.—See also FORTUNATI OLMI *Istoria della Veneta à Venetia occultamente nel A. 1177, di Papa Alessandro III. Venet.* 1629, in 4to.—MURATORI *Antiq. Italicae medii ævi*, tom. iv. p. 249.—*Origines Guelficae*, tom. ii. p. 379.—*Acta Sanctorum*, tom. i. April. p. 46. in *Vita Hugonis, abbatis Bonæ vallis*, & tom. ii. April. in *Vita Galdini Mediolanensis*, p. 596. two famous ecclesiastics, who were employed as ambassadors and arbiters in the treaty of peace here mentioned.

[q] Psalm xci. 13.

[r] See BUNAU's *Life of Frederic I*, p. 242.—HEUMANNI *Pœciles*, tom. iii. lib. i. p. 145.—*Bibliothèque Italique*, tom. vi. p. 5. as also the authors mentioned by CASPAR. SAGITTARIUS, in his *Introduet. in Histor. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 630. tom. ii. p. 600.

XII. ALEXANDER

CENT.
XII.
PART II.

A misunderstanding
arises between Alex-
ander III,
and Henry
II, king of
England.

XII. ALEXANDER III, who was rendered so famous by his long and successful contest with FREDERIC I, was also engaged in a warm dispute with HENRY II, king of England, which was occasioned by the arrogance of THOMAS BECKET, archbishop of Canterbury. In the council of Clarendon, which was held in the year 1164, several laws were enacted, by which the king's power and jurisdiction over the clergy were accurately explained, and the rights and privileges of the bishops and priests reduced within narrower bounds [s]. BECKET refused obe-

[s] See MATTH. PARIS, *Histor. Major.* p. 82, 83. 101. 114.
—DAV. WILKINS, *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae*, tom. i. p. 434.

HENRY II, had formed the wise project of bringing the clergy under the jurisdiction of the civil courts, on account of the scandalous abuse they had made of their immunities, and the crimes which the ecclesiastical tribunals let pass with impunity. The *Constitutions of Clarendon*, which consisted of xvi articles, were drawn up for this purpose: And as they are proper to give the reader a just idea of the prerogatives and privileges that were claimed equally by the king and the clergy, and that occasioned, of consequence, such warm debates between state and church, it will not be altogether useless to transcribe them here at length.

I. When any difference relating to the right of patronage arises between the laity, or between the clergy and laity, the controversy is to be tried and ended in the *King's Court*.

II. Those churches which are *fees* of the crown cannot be granted away in perpetuity without the king's consent.

III. When the clergy are charged with any misdemeanor, and summoned by the justiciary, they shall be obliged to make their appearance in his court, and plead to such parts of the indictment as shall be put to them; and likewise to answer such articles in the Ecclesiastical Court as they shall be prosecuted for by that jurisdiction: Always provided, that the king's justiciary shall send an officer to inspect the proceedings of the Court Christian. And in case any clerk is convicted, or pleads guilty, he is to forfeit the privilege of his character, and to be protected by the church no longer.

IV. No archbishops, bishops, or parsons, are allowed to depart the kingdom, without a licence from the crown; and, provided they have leave to travel, they shall give security, not to act or solicit any thing during their passage, stay, or return, to the prejudice of the king, or kingdom.

V. When any of the laity are prosecuted in the Ecclesiastical Courts, the charge ought to be proved before the bishop by legal and reputable witnesses: and the course of the process is to be so managed, that the archdeacon may not lose any part of his right, or the profits accruing to his office: and, if any offenders appear screened from prosecution upon the score either of favour or quality, the sheriff, at the bishop's instance, shall order twelve sufficient men of the neighbourhood to make oath before the bishop, that they will discover the truth according to the best of their knowledge.

dience

dience to these laws, which he looked upon as prejudicial to the *divine* rights of the church in general, and to the

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T II.

VI. Excommunicated persons shall not be obliged to make oath, or give security to continue upon the place where they live: but only to abide by the judgment of the church in order to their absolution.

VII. No person that *holds in chief of the king*, or any of his barons, shall be excommunicated, or any of their estates put under an *interdict*, before application made to the king, provided he is in the kingdom; and, in case his highness be out of *England*, then the justiciary must be acquainted with the dispute, in order to make satisfaction: and thus what belongs to the cognizance of the King's Court, must be tried there; and that which belongs to the Court Christian, must be remitted to that jurisdiction.

VIII. In case of appeals in ecclesiastical causes, the first step is to be made from the archdeacon to the bishop: and from the bishop to the archbishop: and, if the archbishop fails to do justice, a farther recourse may be had to the king, by whose order the controversy is to be finally decided in the Archbishop's Court. Neither shall it be lawful for either of the parties to move for any farther remedy without leave from the crown.

IX. If a difference happens to arise between any clergyman and layman concerning any tenement; and that the clerk pretends it held by *frank-almoine**, and the layman pleads it a *lay-fee*; in this case, the tenure shall be tried by the enquiry and verdict of twelve sufficient men of the neighbourhood, summoned according to the custom of the realm. And, if the tenement or thing in controversy shall be found *frank-almoine*, the dispute concerning it shall be tried in the Ecclesiastical Court. But, if it is brought in a *lay-fee*, the suit shall be followed in the King's Courts, unless both the plaintiff and defendant hold the tenement in question of the same bishop; in which case, the cause shall be tried in the court of such bishop or baron, with this farther proviso, that he who is seized of the thing in controversy, shall not be disseized, hanging the suit (i. e. *during the suit, pendente lite*) upon the score of the verdict abovementioned.

X. He who holds of the king in any city, castle, or borough, or resides upon any of the demesne-lands of the crown, in case he is cited by the archdeacon or bishop to answer any misbehaviour belonging to their cognizance; if he refuses to obey their summons, and stand to the sentence of the court, it shall be lawful for the ordinary to put him under an interdict, but not to excommunicate him, till the king's principal officer of the town shall be preacquainted with the case, in order to enjoin him to make satisfaction to the church. And, if such officer or magistrate shall fail in his duty, he shall be fined by the king's judges. And then the bishop may exert his discipline on the refractory person as he thinks fit.

XI. All archbishops, bishops, and ecclesiastical persons, who hold of the king in chief, and the tenure of a barony, are for that

* i. e. A tenure by divine service, as *Britton* explains it.

prerogatives

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T II.

prerogatives of the Roman pontiffs in particular. Upon this there arose a violent debate between the resolute

reason obliged to appear before the king's justices and ministers, to answer the duties of their tenure, and to observe all the usages and customs of the realm; and, like other barons, are bound to be present at trials in the King's Court, till sentence is to be pronounced for the losing of life or limbs.

XII. When any archbishoprick, bishoprick, abby, or priory of royal foundation, becomes vacant, the king is to make seizure: from which time, all the profits and issues are to be paid into the Exchequer, as if they were the demesne-lands of the crown. And when it is determined the vacancy shall be filled up, the king is to summon the most considerable persons of the chapter to Court, and the election is to be made in the chapel royal, with the consent of our sovereign lord the king, and by the advice of such persons of the government, as his highness shall think fit to make use of. At which time, the person elected, before his consecration, shall be obliged to do homage and fealty to the king, as his liege lord; which homage shall be performed in the usual form, with a clause for the saving the privilege of his order.

XIII. If any of the temporal barons, or great men, shall encroach upon the rights or property of any archbishop, bishop, or archdeacon, and refuse to make satisfaction for wrong done by themselves, or their tenants, the king shall do justice to the party aggrieved. And, if any person shall disseize the king of any part of his lands, or trespass upon his prerogative, the archbishops, bishops, and archdeacons shall call him to an account, and oblige him to make the crown restitution. *i. e. They were to excommunicate such disseizers and injurious persons in case they proved refractory and incorrigible.*

XIV. The goods and chattels of those who lie under forfeiture of felony or treason are not to be detained in any church or churchyard, to secure them against seizure and justice; because such goods are the king's property, whether they are lodged within the precinct of a church or without it.

XV. All actions and pleas of debts, though never so solemn in the circumstances of the contract, shall be tried in the King's Courts.

XVI. The sons of copy-holders are not to be ordained without the consent of the lord of the manor where they were born.

Such were the articles of the constitutions of *Clarendon*, against the greatest part of which the pope protested. They were signed by the English clergy and also by *BECKER*. The latter, however, repented of what he had done, and, retiring from court, suspended himself from his office in the church for about forty days, till he received absolution from *ALEXANDER III*, who was then at *Sens*. His aversion to these articles manifested itself by an open rebellion against his sovereign, in which he discovered his true character, as a most daring, turbulent, vindictive, and arrogant priest, whose ministry was solely employed in extending the despotic dominion of *Rome*, and whose fixed purpose was to aggrandize the church upon monarch

monarch and the rebellious prelate, which obliged the latter to retire into *France*, where ALEXANDER III was at that time in a kind of exile. This pontif and the king of *France* interposed their good offices in order to compose these differences, in which they succeeded so far, after much trouble and difficulty, as to encourage BECKET to return into *England*, where he was re-instated in his forfeited dignity. But the generous and indulgent proceedings of his sovereign towards him were not sufficient to conquer his arrogant and rebellious obstinacy in maintaining, what he called, the privileges of the church, nor could he be induced by any means to comply with the views and measures of HENRY. The consequences of this inflexible resistance were fatal to the haughty prelate, for he was, soon after his return into *England*, assassinated before the altar, while he was at vespers in his cathedral, by four persons, who certainly did not commit this act of violence without the king's knowledge and connivance [1]. This event produced warm debates be-

the ruins of the state. See COLLIER'S *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. 11th century. RAPIN THOYRAS, in the reign of HENRY II.

[1] This assertion is, in our opinion, by much too strong. It can only be founded upon certain indiscreet and passionate expressions, which the intolerable insolence and frenetic obstinacy of BECKET drew from HENRY in an unguarded moment; when, after having received new affronts, notwithstanding the reconciliation he had effected with so much trouble and condescension, he expressed himself to this purpose: *Am I not unhappy that, among the numbers, who are attached to my interests, and employed in my service, there is none possessed of spirit enough to resent the affronts which I am constantly receiving from a miserable priest?* These words, indeed, were not pronounced in vain. Four gentlemen of the court, whose names were Fitz-Urse, Tracy, Britton, and Morville, murdered BECKET in his chapel, and thus performed, in a licentious and criminal manner, an action which the laws might have commanded with justice. But it is extremely remarkable, that, after the murder, the assassins were afraid they had gone too far, and durst not return to the king's court, which was then in *Normandy*; but retired, at first, to *Knareborough* in *Yorkshire*, which belonged to Morville, from whence they repaired to *Rome* for absolution, and being admitted to penance by ALEXANDER III, were sent, by the orders of that pontif, to *Jerusalem*, and passed the remainder of their lives upon the *Black Mountain* in the severest acts of austerity and mortification. All this does not look as if the king had been deliberately concerned in this murder, or had expressly consented to it. On the contrary, various circumstances concur to prove that HENRY was entirely innocent of this murder. Mr. HUME mentions particularly one, which is worthy of

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T II.

Alexander
III contri-
butes by
prudent
counsels to
confirm the
privileges of
the church,
and to ex-
tend the
papal autho-
rity.

tween the king of *England* and the Roman pontif, who gained his point so far as to make the suppliant monarch undergo a severe course of penance, in order to expiate a crime of which he was considered as the principal promoter, while the murdered prelate was solemnly enrolled in the highest rank of saints and martyrs, in the year 1173 [u].

XIII. It was not only by force of arms, but also by uninterrupted efforts of dexterity and artifice, by wise councils and prudent laws, that ALEXANDER III maintained the pretended rights of the church, and extended the authority of the Roman pontifs. For in the third council of the Lateran, held at *Rome* A. D. 1179, the following decrees, among many others upon different subjects, were passed by his advice and authority: 1st, That in order to put an end to the confusion and dissensions, which so often accompanied the election of the Roman pontifs, the right of election should not only be vested in the *cardinals* alone, but also that the person, in whose favour two thirds of the college of cardinals voted, should be considered as the lawful and duly elected pontif. This law is still in force; it was therefore from the time of ALEXANDER that the election of the pope acquired that form which it still retains, and by which not only the people, but also the Roman clergy, are excluded en-

notice. The king, suspecting the design of the four gentlemen above-mentioned, by some menacing expressions they had dropt, “ dispatched (says Mr. HUME) a messenger after them, charging “ them to attempt nothing against the person of the primate. But “ these orders came too late.” See his *History of England*, vol. i. p. 294. RAPIN THOYRAS, *History of England*; COLLIER’S *Ecclesiastical History of England*, vol. i. p. 370. The authors, which Dr. MOSHEIM refers to for an account of this matter, are as follow: GUILIEL. STEPHANIDÆ *Historia Thomæ Cantuariensis* in SPARKS *Scriptores rerum Anglicarum*, published in folio at London in the year 1723.—CHRIST. LUPI *Epistolæ et vita Thomæ Cantuar.—Epistola Alexandri III, Ludovici VII, Henrici II, in hac causa ex MSS Vaticano, Bruxellis* 1682, 2 vol. 4to.—NATALIS ALEXANDER, *Select. Histor. Eccles. Capitib. Sæc. xii. Diff. x.* p. 833.—THOMÆ STAPLETONI *Tres Thomæ, seu res gestæ Thomæ Apostoli, S. Thomæ Cantuariensis, et Thomæ Mori. Colon.* 1612, in 8vo.

[u] BOULAY, *Histor. Academ. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 328. et *De Die Fæsto ejus*, p. 397.—DOM. COLONIA, *Histoire Literaire de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 249.

tirely from all share in the honour of conferring that important dignity. 2dly, A spiritual war was declared against Heretics, whose numbers increasing considerably about this time, created much disturbance in the church in general, and infested, in a more particular manner, several provinces in *France*, which groaned under the fatal dissensions that accompanied the propagation of their errors [w]. 3dly, The right of recommending and nominating to the saintly order was also taken away from councils and bishops, and *canonisation* was ranked among the *greater and more important causes*, the cognizance of which belonged to the pontif alone [x]. To all this we must not forget to add, that the power of erecting new kingdoms, which had been claimed by the pontifs from the time of GREGORY VII, was not only assumed, but also exercised, by ALEXANDER in a remarkable instance; for in the year 1179, he conferred the title of king, with the ensigns of royalty, upon ALPHONSO I, duke of *Portugal*, who, under the pontificate of LUCIUS II, had rendered his province tributary to the Roman see [y].

XIV. Upon the death of ALEXANDER, UBALD, bishop of *Ostia*, otherwise known by the name of LUCIUS III, was raised to the pontificate, A. D. 1181, by the suffrages of the cardinals alone, in consequence of the law mentioned in the preceding section. The administration of this new pontif was embittered by violent tumults and seditions; for he was twice driven out of the

His successors.

[w] See NATALIS ALEXANDER, *Select. Histor. Eccles. Capit. Sac. xii. Diff. ix. p. 819.* where he treats particularly concerning this council.—See also *tom. vi. part II. Conciliorum HARDUINI*, p. 1671.

Dr. MOSHEIM, as also SPANHEIM and FLEURY, call this the 3d council of Lateran, whereas other historians mention eight preceding councils held in the Lateran, *viz.* Those of the years 649, 864, 1105, 1112, 1116, 1123, 1139, 1167. Our author has also attributed to this council of 1179, decrees that probably belong to a later period.

[x] See what has been observed already, under the xth century, concerning the election of the popes, and the *canonization* of saints.

[y] BARONIUS, *Annal. ad A. 1179.*—INNOCENTII III *Epistola*, Lib. ep. xlix. p. 54. tom. i. ed. Baluzian.

[y] ALPHONSO had been declared, by his victorious army, king of *Portugal*, in the year 1136, in the midst of the glorious exploits he had performed in the war against the *Moors*; so that ALEXANDER III did no more than confirm this title by an arrogant bull, in which he treats that excellent prince as his vassal.

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T II.

city by the Romans, who could not bear a pope that was elected, in opposition to the antient custom, without the knowledge and consent of the clergy and the people. In the midst of these troubles he died at *Verona* in the year 1185, and was succeeded by HUBERT CRIVELLI, bishop of *Milan*, who assumed the title of URBAN III, and without having transacted any thing worthy of mention during his short pontificate, died of grief in the year 1187, upon hearing that SALADIN had made himself master of *Jerusalem*. The pontificate of his successor ALBERT [z], whose papal denomination was GREGORY VIII, exhibited still a more striking instance of the fragility of human grandeur; for this pontif yielded to fate about two months after his elevation. He was succeeded by PAUL, bishop of *Preneſte*, who filled the papal chair above three years under the title of CLEMENT III, and departed this life A. D. 1191, without having distinguished his ghostly reign by any memorable achievement, if we except his zeal for draining *Europe* of its treasures and inhabitants by the publication of new *crusades*. CELESTINE III [a] makes a more shining figure in history than the pontifs we have been now mentioning; for he thundered his excommunications against the emperor HENRY VI, and LEOPOLD, duke of *Austria*, on account of their having seized and imprisoned RICHARD I, king of *England*, as he was returning from the Holy Land; he also subjected to the same malediction ALPHONSO X, king of *Galliciea* and *Leon*, on account of an incestuous marriage into which that prince had entered, and commanded PHILIP AUGUSTUS, king of *France*, to re-admit to the conjugal state and honours INGELBURG his queen, whom he had divorced for reasons unknown; though this order, indeed, produced but little effect [b]. But the most illustrious and resolute pontif, that filled the papal chair during this

[z] This prelate, before his elevation to the papacy, was bishop of *Benevento*, and chancellor of the Roman church.

[a] Whose name was HYACINTH, a native of *Rome*, and a cardinal deacon.

[b] It was in consequence of the vigorous and terrible proceedings of INNOCENT III, that the reunion between PHILIP and INGELBURG was accomplished. See *L'Histoire de France, par l'Abbé Velly*, tom. iii. p. 367, 368, 369.

century, and whose exploits made the greatest noise in *Europe*, was *LOTHARIUS*, count of *Segni*, cardinal deacon, otherwise known by the name of *INNOCENT III.* The arduous undertakings and bold achievements of this eminent pontif, who was placed at the head of the church in the year 1198, belong to the history of the following century.

C E N T
XII.
P A R T II.

XV. If, from the series of pontifs that ruled the church in this century, we descend to the other ecclesiastical orders, such as the bishops, priests, and deacons, the most disagreeable objects will be exhibited to our view. The unanimous voice of the historians of this age, as well as the laws and decrees of synods and councils declare, loudly the gross ignorance, the odious frauds, and the flagitious crimes, that reigned among the different ranks and orders of the clergy now mentioned. It is not therefore at all surprizing, that the monks, whose rules of discipline obliged them to a regular method of living, and placed them out of the way of many temptations to licentiousness, and occasions of sinning to which the episcopal and sacerdotal orders were exposed, were held in higher esteem than they were. The reign of corruption became, however, so general, that it reached at last even the convents; and the monks, who were gaining with the most ardent efforts the summit of ecclesiastical power and authority, and who beheld both the *secular clerks* and the *regular canons* with aversion and contempt [c], began in many places, to degenerate from that sanctity of manners, and that exact obedience to their rules of discipline, by which they had been formerly distinguished, and to exhibit to the people scandalous examples of immorality and vice [d]. The Benedictines of *Clugni*, who undoubtedly surpassed, in regularity of conduct and purity of manners, all the monastic orders who lived under their

A view of
the other
ecclesiastical
orders, and
their vices.

[c] See *RUPERTI Epistola* in *MARTENE Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. i. p. 285. This writer prefers the monks before the apostles.

[d] See *BERNARD. Consideration. ad Eugenium*, lib. iii. cap. iv. — See also the *Speculum Stultorum*, or *Brunellus*, a Poem, composed by *NIGEL WIREKER*, an English bard of no mean reputation, who lived about the middle of the XIIth century. In this Poem, of which several editions have been published, the different orders of monks are severely censured; the Carthusians alone have escaped the keen and virulent Satire of this witty writer.

CEN T.
XII.
PART II.

The prof-
perous state
of the Cif-
tertian
Order.

rule, maintained their integrity for a long time, amidst the general decay of piety and virtue. They were however at length carried away with the torrent; seduced by the example of their abbot PONTIUS, and corrupted by the treasures that were poured daily into their convent by the liberality of the opulent and pious, they fell from their primitive austerity, and, following the dissolute examples of the other Benedictines, they gave themselves up to pleasure, and dwelt carelessly [e]. Several of the succeeding abbots endeavoured to remedy this disorder, and to recover the declining reputation of their convent; but their efforts were much less successful than they expected, nor could the monks of *Clugni* ever be brought back to their primitive sanctity and virtue [f].

XVI. The *Cistercian Order*, which was much inferior to the monks of *Clugni*, both with respect to the antiquity of their institution, and the possessions and revenues of their convent, surpassed them far in the external regularity of their lives and manners, and in a certain striking air of innocence and sanctity, which they still retained, and which the others had almost entirely lost. Hence they acquired that high degree of reputation and authority, which the order of *Clugni* had formerly enjoyed, and increased daily in number, credit, and opulence. The famous St. BERNARD, abbot of *Clairval*, whose influence throughout all Europe was incredible, whose word was a law, and whose counsels were regarded by kings and princes as so many orders to which the most respectful obedience was due; this eminent ecclesiastic was the person who contributed most to enrich and aggrandize the Cistercian Order. Hence he is justly considered as the second parent and founder of that Order; and hence the Cisterrians, not only in France, but also in Germany and other countries, were distinguished by the title of *Bernardin monks* [g]. A hundred and sixty religious communities

[e] ISAIAH xlvii. 8.

[f] See MARTENE, *Amplissima Collectio Monumentor. Veter.* tom. ix. p. 1119.

[g] See JO. MABILLON, *Annal. Ordin. Benedi.* tom. vi. passim, in *vita Sti Bernardi*, which he has prefixed to his edition of the works of that saint.—See also ANGELI MANRIQUEZ, *Annales Cistercienses*, tom. ii. and iii.

derive their origin, or their rules of discipline, from this illustrious abbot, and he left, at his death, seven hundred monks in the monastery of *Clairval*. The church abounded with bishops and archbishops that had been formed and prepared for the ministry by his instructions, and he counted also, among the number of his disciples, EUGENIUS III, one of the best and wisest of the Roman pontiffs.

XVII. The growing prosperity of the *Cistercian Order*, excited the envy and jealousy of the monks of *Clugni*, and, after several dissensions of less consequence, produced at length an open rupture, a declared war between these two opulent and powerful monasteries. They both followed the rule of St. BENEDICT, though they differed in their habit, and in certain laws, which the Cistercians, more especially, had added to that rule. The monks of *Clugni* accused the *Cistercians* of affecting an extravagant austerity in their manners and discipline; while the *Cistercians*, on the other hand, charged them, and that upon very good grounds, with having degenerated from their former sanctity, and regularity of conduct. St. BERNARD, who was the oracle and protector of the Cistercians, wrote, in the year 1127, an *Apology* for his own conduct in relation to the division that subsisted between the two convents, and inveighed with a just, though decent, severity against the vices that corrupted the monks of *Clugni* [b]. This charge was answered, though with uncommon modera-

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T II.

Jealousies
arise be-
tween the
Cistercians
and the
monks of
Clugni.

[b] This apology, as it is called, of St. BERNARD is well worth the attention of the curious reader, as it exhibits a true and lively picture of monastic opulence and luxury, and shews how the religious orders in general lived in this century. The famous abbot, in this performance, accuses the monks of *Clugni* of luxury and intemperance at their table, of superfluity and magnificence in their dress, their bed-chambers, their furniture, equipage, and buildings. He points out the pride and vanity of the abbots, who looked much more like the governors of provinces, than the spiritual fathers of humble and holy communities, whose original profession it was, to be crucified and dead to the interests and pleasures, the pomps and vanities of a present world. He declares, with a pious concern, that he knew several abbots, each of whom had more than sixty horses in his stable, and such a prodigious variety of wines in his cellar, that it was scarcely possible to taste the half of them at a single entertainment. See FLEURY, *Hist. Ecclesiastique*, livr. lxxvii. tom. xiv. p. 351. edit. Bruxelles.

C[O]N T.
XII.
PART II.

Lives and
manners of
the canons.

tion and candour, by PETER MAURITIUS, abbot of *Clugni*; and hence it occasioned a controversy in form, which spread from day to day its baneful influence, and excited disturbances in several provinces of *Europe* [i]. It was, however, followed with a much more vehement and bitter contest concerning an exemption from the payment of tithes, granted among other privileges and immunities to the Cistercians, A. D. 1132, by INNOCENT II. A considerable part of the lands which the Cistercians possessed, and to which the pontif granted this exemption, were subject to the monks of *Clugni*, who suffered consequently by this act of liberality, and disputed the matter, not only with the Cistercians, but with the pope himself. This keen dispute was, in some measure, terminated in the year 1155, but in what manner, or upon what conditions, is more than is come to our knowledge [k].

XVIII. The *regular canons*, who were erected into a fixed and permanent order in the preceding century, employed their time in a much more useful and exemplary manner than the monastic drones, who passed their days in luxury and sloth. They kept public schools for the instruction of youth, and exercised a variety of ecclesiastical functions, which rendered them extremely useful to the church [l]. Hence they rose daily in credit and reputation, received many rich and noble donations from several persons whose opulence and piety rendered them able and willing to distinguish merit, and were also often put in possession of the revenues of the monks, whose dissolute lives occasioned, from time to time, the suppression of their

[i] See S. BERNARDI *Apologia* in *Oper.* tom. i. p. 523—533.—The *Apology* of PETER, abbot of *Clugni*, surnamed the *Venerable*, which is published among his *Epistles*, lib. i. ep. 28. in the *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, tom. i. p. 657.—695.—See also the *Dialogus inter Cluniacensem et Cisterciensem*, published by MARTENE, in his *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 1573—1613.—Compare with all these MABILLON, *Annal. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 80. & MANRIQUEZ, *Annal. Cisterc.* tom. i. p. 28.

[k] See ANGELI MANRIQUEZ, *Annal. Cistercienses*, tom. i. p. 232.—MABILLON, *Annal. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 212. 479. & *Præfat. ad Opera S. Bernardi*.—JO. DE LANNES, *Histoire du Pontificat d'Innocent II*, p. 68—79.—JO. NIC. HERTII *Diff. de exemptione Cisterc. à decimis*.

[l] See the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. ix. p. 112.

convents.

convents. This, as might well be expected, inflamed the rage of the monastic orders against the regular canons, whom they attacked with the greatest fury, and loaded with the bitterest invectives. The canons, in their turn, were far from being backward in making reprisals; they exclaimed, on the contrary, against the monks with the utmost vehemence; enumerated their vices both in their discourses and in their writings, and insisted upon their being confined to their monasteries, sequestered from human society, and excluded from all ecclesiastical honours and functions. Hence arose a long and warm contest between the monks and canons concerning pre-eminence, in which both parties carried their pretensions too high, and exceeded the bounds of decency and moderation [m]. The champions, who espoused the interest of the monks, were the famous PETER ABELARD, HUGH of Amiens, RUPERT of Duytz; while the cause of the canons was defended by PHILIP HARVENGIUS, a learned abbot, and several other men of genius and abilities [n]. The effects and remains of this ancient controversy are yet visible in our times.

XIX. A new society of religious Benedictines arose about the commencement of this century, whose principal monastery was erected in a barren and solitary place, called *Fenteuraud*, between *Angers* and *Tours*, from whence the order derived its name. ROBERT of *Arbrifelles*, its founder, who had been first an hermit and afterwards a monk, prescribed to his religious of both sexes, the rule of St. BENEDICT, amplified, however, by the addition of several new laws, which were extremely singular and excessively severe. Among other singularities that distinguished this institution, one was, that the several monasteries which ROBERT had built, within one and the same inclosure, for his monks and nuns, were all subjected to the authority and government of one abbeys; in justification of which measure, the example of CHRIST was al-

New monastic orders

[m] See LAMBERTI *Epistola* in MARTENE, *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. i. p. 329.

[n] ABÆLARDI *Opera*, p. 228, *Paris*. 1616, in 4to.—MARTENE, *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 970—975. 1614. et *Amplissima ejusdem. Collectio*, tom. ix. p. 971, 972.—PHIL. HARVENGII *Opera*, p. 385. *Duaci* 1621, in folio.

ledged,

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T II.

ledged, who recommended St. JOHN to the Virgin MARY, and imposed it as an order upon that beloved disciple to be obedient to her as to his own mother [o]. This new order, like all other novelties of that kind, gained immediately a high degree of credit; the singularity of its discipline, its form, and its laws, engaged multitudes to embrace it, and thus the labours of its founder were crowned with remarkable success. [But the association of vigorous monks and tender virgins, in the same community, was an imprudent measure, and could not but be attended with many inconveniencies. However that be, ROBERT continued his pious labours, and the odour of his sanctity perfumed all the places where he exercised his ministry.] He was, indeed, suspected by some, of too great an intimacy with his female disciples; and it was rumoured about, that, in order to try his virtue by opposing it to the strongest temptations, he exposed it to an inevitable defeat by the manner in which he conversed with these holy virgins. It was even said, that their commerce was softened by something more tender than divine love; against which charge his disciples have used their most zealous endeavours to defend their master [p].

[o] See the *Works* of ABELARD, p. 48. whose testimony in this matter, is confirmed by the present state and constitution of this famous order; though MABILLON, from an excessive partiality in favour of the Benedictines, has endeavoured to diminish its credit in his *Annal. Benedict.* tom. v. p. 423. For an account of ROBERT and his order, see the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. iii. *Februar.* p. 593.—DION. SAMMARTHANI *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 1311.—BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article FONTEVRAUD.—HELYOT, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. vi. p. 83.—The present state of this monastery is described by MOLEON, in his *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 108. and by MARTENE, in his *Voyage Literaire de deux Benedictins*, part II. p. 1.

[p] See the letters of GEOFFRY, abbot of *Vendôme*, and of MARBOD, bishop of *Rennes*, in which ROBERT is accused of lying in the same bed with the nuns. How the grave abbot was defended against this accusation by the members of his order, may be seen in MAINFERME's *Clypeus Nascentis Ordinis Fontebraldensis*, published in 8vo at *Paris* in the year 1684; and also by another production of the same author, entitled, *Dissertationes in Epistolam contra Robertum de Arbriffello, Salmurii*, 1682, in 8vo. BAYLE's account of this famous abbot, in which there is such an admirable mixture of wit, sense, and malice, has been also attacked by several writers; see, among others, the *Dissertation Apologetique pour le bienheureux Robert*

XX. NORBERT,

XX. NORBERT, a German nobleman, who went into holy orders, and was afterwards archbishop of *Magdebourg*, employed his most zealous efforts to restore to its primitive severity the discipline of the *regular canons*, which was extremely relaxed in some places, and almost totally abolished in others. This eminent reformer founded, in the year 1121, the *Order of Premontré* in *Picardy*, whose fame spread throughout *Europe* with an amazing rapidity, and whose opulence, in a short space of time, became excessive and enormous [q], in consequence of the high esteem which the monks of this community had acquired by the gravity of their manners, and their assiduous application to the liberal arts and sciences. But their overgrown prosperity was the source of their ruin; it soon diminished their zeal for the exercises of devotion, extinguished their thirst after useful knowledge, and thus step by step plunged them, at length, into all sorts of vices. The rule which they followed was that of St. AUGUSTIN, with some slight alterations and an addition of certain severe laws, whose authority, however, did not long survive their austere founder [r].

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T II.

The Order
of Premon-
tré.

d'Arbrisselles sur ce qu'en a dit M. Bayle. Anvers, 1701, in 8vo.—MABILLON, *Annal.* tom. v. et vi. p. 9, 10.

§ In the year 1177, some nuns of this Order were brought into *England*, at the desire of HENRY II, who gave them the monastery of *Ambresbury* in *Wiltshire*. They had two other houses here; the one at *Etôn*, the other at *Westwood* in *Worcestershire*.

§ [q] The religious of this Order were at first so poor, that they had nothing they could call their own, but a single ass, which served to carry the wood they cut down every morning and sent to *Laon* in order to purchase bread. But in a short time they received so many donations, and built so many monasteries, that, thirty years after the foundation of this Order, they had above an hundred abbies in *France* and *Germany*. In process of time, the Order increased so prodigiously, that it had monasteries in all parts of *Christendom*, amounting to 1000 abbies, 300 provostships, a vast number of priories, and 500 nunneries. But this number is now greatly diminished. Besides what they lost in protestant countries, of sixty-five abbies, that they had in *Italy*, there is not one now remaining.

[r] See HELYOT, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. ii. p. 156.—CHRYSTOST. Van der STERIE, *Vita S. Norberti Præmonstratensium Patriarchæ*, published in 8vo at *Antwerp* in 1656.—LOUIS HUGUES, *Vie de S. Norbert*, *Luxemb.* 1704, in 4to.—Add to these, notwithstanding his partiality, JO. LAUNOIUS, *Inquisit. in Privilegia Ordin. Præmonstrat.* cap. i, ii. *Oper.* tom. iii. part I. p. 448. For an account of the present state of the *Order of Premontré*, see MARTENE's *Voyage Littéraire de deux Benedictins*, tom. ii. p. 59.

XXI. About

CENT.
XII.
PART II.

XXI. About the middle of this century, a certain Calabrian, whose name was BERTHOLD, set out with a few companions for mount *Carmel*, and, upon the very spot where the prophet ELIAS is said to have disappeared, built an humble cottage, with an adjoining chapel, in which he led a life of solitude, austerity, and labour. This little colony subsisted, and the places of those that died were more than filled by new comers; so that it was, at length [s], erected into a monastic community by ALBERT, patriarch of *Jerusalem*. This austere prelate drew up a rule of discipline for the new monks, which was afterwards confirmed by the authority of the Roman pontifs, who modified and altered it in several respects, and, among other corrections, mitigated its excessive rigour and severity [t]. Such was the origin of the famous *Order of Carmelites*, or, as they are commonly called, of the *Order of our Lady of mount Carmel*, which was afterwards transplanted from *Syria* into *Europe*, and obtained the principal rank among the mendicant or begging orders. It is true, the Carmelites reject, with the highest indignation, an origin so recent and obscure, and affirm to this very day, that the prophet ELIAS was the parent and founder of their ancient community [u]. Very few, however, have

☞ The *Pramonstratenses*, or monks of *Premontre*, vulgarly called *White Canons*, came first into *England* A. D. 1146. Their first monastery, called *New-House*, was built in *Lincolnshire*, by *Peter de Saulia*, and dedicated to St. *Martial*. In the reign of EDWARD I, the Order in question had twenty-seven monasteries in *England*.

[s] In the year 1205.

[t] I have here principally followed DAN. PAPEBROCH, an accurate writer, and one who is always careful to produce sufficient testimonies of the truth of his narrations, see the *Acta Sanctor. Antwerp. Mense April.* tom. iii. p. 774—802. It is well known, that an accusation was brought against this learned jesuit before the tribunal of the Roman pontif by the Carmelites, on account of his having called in question the dignity and high antiquity of their order. We have in HELYOT's *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. i. p. 282. an account of this long and tedious contest, which was so far determined, or at least suspended, in the year 1698, by INNOCENT XII, that silence was imposed upon the contending parties.

[u] The most concise and accurate of all the Carmelite writers, who have treated this matter, is THOMAS AQUINAS, a French monk, in his *Dissertatio Hist. Theol. in qua Patriarchus Ordinis Carmelitarum Prophetæ Eliæ vindicatur*, published in 8vo at *Paris*, in the year 1632. The modern writers, who have maintained the cause

been

been engaged to adopt this fabulous and chimerical account of their establishment, except the members of the order; and many Roman catholic writers have treated their pretensions to such a remote antiquity with the utmost contempt [w]. [x] And scarcely, indeed, can any thing be more ridiculous than the circumstantial narrations of the occasion, origin, founder, and revolutions of this famous order, which we find in several ecclesiastical authors, whose zeal for this fraternity has rendered them capable of adopting without reluctance, or, at least, of reciting without shame, the most puerile and glaring absurdities. They tell us, that ELIAS was introduced into the state of monachism by the ministry of angels; that his first disciples were JONAH, MICAH, and also OBADIAH, whose wife, in order to get rid of an importunate crowd of lovers, who fluttered about her at the court of ACHAB after the departure of her husband, bound herself by a vow of chastity, received the veil from the hands of *father* ELIAS, and thus became the first abbess of the Carmelite order. They enter into a vast detail of all the circumstances that relate to the rules of discipline, which were drawn up for this community, the habit which distinguished its members, and the various alterations which were introduced into their rule of discipline in process of time. They observe, that, among other marks, which were used to distinguish the Carmelites from the seculars, the *tonsure* was one; that this mark of distinction exposed them, indeed, to the mockeries of a profane multitude; and that this furnishes the true explication of the terms *bald head*, which the children addressed, by way of reproach, to ELISHAH as he was on his way to *Carmel* [x]. They tell us, moreover, that PYTHAGORAS was a member of this ancient order; that he drew all his wisdom from mount *Carmel*, and had several conversations, with the prophet DANIEL at *Babylon*, upon the subject of the Trinity. Nay, they go still farther into the region of fable, and assert, of the Carmelites against PAPEBROCH, are extremely prolix and tiresome.

[w] See HARDUINI *Opera Posthum.* p. 642.—LABAT, *Voyage en Espagne et Italie*, tom. iii. p. 87.—COURAYER, *Examen des défauts Théologiques*, tom. i. p. 455.

[x] See 2 KINGS ii. 23.

that

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T II.

Greek writers.

that the Virgin MARY and JESUS himself assumed the habit and profession of Carmelites; and they load this fiction with a heap of absurd circumstances, which it is impossible to read without the highest astonishment (y).]

XXII. To this brief account of the religious orders, it will not be amiss to add a list of the principal Greek and Latin writers that flourished in this century. The most eminent among the Greeks were those that follow:

PHILIPPUS SOLITARIUS, whose *Dioptra*, or controversy between the soul and the body, is sufficiently known;

EUSTRATIUS, who maintained the cause of the Greek church against the Latins with great learning and spirit, and who wrote commentaries on certain books of ARISTOTLE;

EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS, who, by his *Anti-heretical Panoply*, together with his commentaries upon several parts of the sacred writings, has acquired a place among the principal authors of this century [z];

[y] For an ample account of all the absurd inventions here hinted at, see a very remarkable work, entitled, *ORDRES MONASTIQUES, Histoire extraite de tous les Auteurs qui ont conservé à la Postérité ce qu'il y a de plus curieux dans chaque ordre, enrichie d'un tres-grand nombre de passages des mêmes Auteurs; pour servir de demonstration que ce qu'on y avance est également veritable et curieux.* This work, which was first printed at Paris in 1751, under the title of *Berlin*, and which was suppressed almost as soon as it appeared, is written with great wit, eloquence, and learning, and all the narrations it contains are confirmed by citations from the most eminent authors who have given accounts of the religious orders. The author's design seems to have been to expose the monks of every denomination to the laughter of his readers; and it is very remarkable, that, in the execution of this purpose, he has drawn his materials from the gravest authors, and from the most zealous defenders of monachism. If he has embellished his subject, it is by the vivacity of his manner, and the witty elegance of his style, and not by laying to the charge of the monastic communities any practices which their most serious historians omit or disavow. The authors of the *Bibliothèque des Sciences et de Beaux Arts*, at the Hague, have given several interesting extracts of this work in the 2, 3, 4, and 5th volumes of that Literary Journal.

The Carmelites came into England in the year 1240, and erected there a vast number of monasteries almost through the whole kingdom. See BROUGHTON's *Historical Library*, vol. i. p. 208.

[z] See RICH. SIMON, *Critique de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques*, par M. DU PIN, tom. i. p. 318. 324.

JOHANNES

JOHANNES ZONARAS, whose *Annals*, together with several other productions of his learned pen, are still extant ;

CENT.
XII.
PART II.

MICHAEL GLYCAS, who also applied himself to historical composition, as well as to other branches of learning [a] ;

CONSTANTIUS HARMENOPULUS, whose commentaries on the civil and canon laws are deservedly esteemed ;

ANDRONICUS CAMATERUS, who wrote with great warmth and vehemence against the Latins and Armenians ;

EUSTATHIUS, bishop of *Thessalonica*, the most learned of the Greeks in this century, and the celebrated commentator of the *Iliad* ;

THEODORUS BALSAMON, who employed great diligence, erudition, and labour, in explaining and digesting the civil and ecclesiastical laws of the Greeks [b].

XXXIII. The most eminent among the Latin writers were,

Latin writers.

BERNARD, abbot of *Clairval*, from whom the Cistercian monks, as has been already observed, derived the title of *Bernardins* ; a man who was not destitute of genius and taste, and whose judgment, in many respects, was just and penetrating ; but who, on the other hand, discovered in his conduct many marks of superstition and weakness, and, what was still worse, concealed the lust of dominion under the mask of piety, and made no scruple of loading with false accusations such as had the misfortune to incur his displeasure [c] ;

INNOCENT III, bishop of *Rome*, whose epistles and other productions contribute to illustrate the religious sentiments, as also the discipline and morals, that prevailed in this century [d] ;

[a] Other historians place GLYCAS in the fifteenth century. See LAMI *Dissertatio de Glyca*, which is prefixed to the first volume of his *Delicia virorum eruditorum*.

[b] See the *Bibliotheca Græca* of FABRICIUS.

[c] The learned MABILLON has given a splendid edition of the works of St. BERNARD; and has not only in his Preface made many excellent observations upon the life and history of this famous abbot, but has also subjoined to his *Works* the accounts that have been given, by the ancient writers, of his life and actions.

[d] The Epistles of INNOCENT III were published at *Paris*, in two large volumes in folio, by BALUZIUS, in the year 1682.

CENT.
XII.
PART II.

ANSELM of *Laon*, a man of a subtle genius, and deeply versed in logical disquisition ;

ABELARD, the disciple of ANSELM, and most famous in this century on account of the elegance of his wit, the extent of his erudition, the power of his rhetoric, and the bitterness of his unhappy fate [e] ;

GEOFFRY of *Vendôme*, whose *Epistles* and *Dissertations* are yet extant ;

RUPERT of *Duytz*, and the most eminent, perhaps, of all the expositors of the holy scriptures, who flourished among the Latins during this century, a man of a sound judgment and an elegant taste [f] ;

HUGH of *St. Victor*, a man distinguished by the fecundity of his genius, who treated in his writings of all the branches of sacred and profane erudition, that were known in his time, and who composed several dissertations that are not destitute of merit [g] ;

RICHARD of *St. Victor*, who was at the head of the Mystics in this century, and whose treatise, entitled, *The Mystical Ark*, which contains, as it were, the marrow of that kind of theology, was received with the greatest avidity, and applauded by the fanatics of the times [h] ;

HONORIUS of *Autun* [i], no mean philosopher, and tolerably versed in theological learning ;

[e] See BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the articles ABELARD and PARACLET.—GERVAIS, *Vie de Pierre Abeillard, Abbe de Ruys et de Heloise*, published at *Paris* in two volumes 8vo. in the year 1728. The works of this famous and unfortunate monk were published at *Paris* in 1616, in one volume 4to. by FRANC. AMBOISE. Another edition, much more ample, might be given, since there are a great number of the productions of ABELARD that have never yet seen the light.

[f] See MABILLON, *Aunal. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 19, 20. 42. 144. 168. 261. 282. 296. who gives an ample account of RUPERT, and of the disputes in which he was involved.

[g] See *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 661. The works of this learned man were published at *Rouen*, in three volumes in folio, in the year 1648. See, for a farther account of him, DERLANGII *Dissert. de Hugone à S. Victore, Helmstadt* 1746, in 4to. and MARTENE's *Voyage Littéraire*, tom. ii. p. 91, 92.

[h] *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 669.

[i] Such is the place to which HONORIUS is said to have belonged. But LE BOEUF proves him to have been a German, in his *Dissert. sur l'Hist. Française*, tom. i. p. 254.

GRATIAN,

GRATIAN, a learned monk, who reduced the canon law into a new and regular form, in his vast compilation of the decisions of the ancient and modern councils, the decretals of the pontifs, the capitularies of the kings of France, &c. ;

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T II

WILLIAM of Rheims, the author of several productions, every way adapted to excite pious sentiments, and to contribute to the progress of practical religion ;

PETER LOMBARD, who was commonly called, in France, *Master of the Sentences*, because he had composed a work so entitled, which was a collection of opinions and sentences relative to the various branches of theology, extracted from the Latin doctors, and reduced into a sort of system [k] ;

GILBERTUS PORRETANUS [l], a subtle dialectician, and a learned divine, who is, however, said to have adopted several erroneous sentiments concerning *The Divine Essence* ; *The Incarnation* ; and *The Trinity* [m] ;

WILLIAM of Auxerre, who acquired a considerable reputation by his *Theological System* [n] ;

PETER of Blois [o], whose epistles and other productions may yet be read with profit ;

JOHN of Salisbury, a man of great learning and true genius, whose philosophical and theological knowledge was adorned with a lively wit and a flowing eloquence, as appears in his *Metalogicus*, and his book *De nugis Curialium* ;

PETRUS COMESTOR, author of *An Abridgment of the Old and New Testament*, which was used in the schools for the instruction of the youth, and called probably from thence, *Historia Scholastica*.

[k] *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 68.

[l] GILBERT, *De la Poiree*.

[m] He held, among other things, this trifling and sophistical proposition, that *the divine essence and attributes are not God* ; a proposition that was every way proper to exercise the quibbling spirit of the scholastic writers.

[n] LE BOEUF, *Dissert. sur la Somme Theologique de Guillaume d'Auxerre*, in MOLAT's *Continuation des Memoires d'Histoire et de Literature*, tom. iii. part II. p. 317.

[o] PETRUS BLESENSIS.

C E N T. A more ample account of the names and characters of
 XII. the Latin writers may be found in those authors, who
 P A R T II. have professedly treated that branch of literature.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the doctrine of the Christian church in this century.

Christianity
 corrupted
 more and
 more.

I. **W**HEN we consider the multitude of causes which united their influence in obscuring the lustre of genuine Christianity, and corrupting it by a profane mixture of the inventions of superstitious and designing men with its pure and sublime doctrines, it will appear surprizing, that the religion of JESUS was not totally extinguished. All orders contributed, though in different ways, to corrupt the native purity of true religion. The Roman pontifs led the way ; they would not suffer any doctrines that had the smallest tendency to diminish their despotic authority ; but obliged the public teachers to interpret the precepts of Christianity in such a manner, as to render them subservient to the support of papal dominion and tyranny. This order was so much the more terrible, in that such as refused to comply with it, and to force the words of scripture into significations totally opposite to the intention of its divine author, such, in a word, as had the courage to place the authority of the gospel above that of the Roman pontifs, and to consider it as the supreme rule of their conduct, were answered with the formidable arguments of fire and sword, and received death in the most cruel forms, as the fruit of their sincerity and resolution. The priests and monks contributed, in their way, to disfigure the beautiful simplicity of religion ; and, finding it their interest to keep the people in the grossest ignorance and darkness, dazzled their feeble eyes with the ludicrous pomp of a gaudy worship, and led them to place the whole of religion in vain ceremonies, bodily austerities and exercises, and particularly in a blind and stupid veneration for the clergy. The scholastic doctors, who considered the decisions of the ancients and the precepts of the Dialecticians as the great rule and criterion of

of truth, instead of explaining the doctrines of the gospel, mined them by degrees, and sunk divine truth under the ruins of a captious philosophy; while the Mystics, running into the opposite extreme, maintained, that the souls of the truly pious were incapable of any spontaneous motions, and could only be moved by a *divine impulse*; and thus not only set limits to the pretensions of reason, but excluded it entirely from religion and morality; nay, in some measure, denied its very existence.

II. The consequences of all this were superstition and ignorance, which were substituted in the place of true religion, and reigned over the multitude with an universal sway. Relics, which were for the most part fictitious, or at least uncertain, attracted more powerfully the confidence of the people, than the merits of CHRIST, and were supposed by many to be more effectual than the prayers offered to heaven through the mediation and intercession of that divine Redeemer [p]. The opulent, whose circumstances enabled them either to erect new temples, or to repair and embellish the old, were looked upon as the happiest of all mortals, and were considered as the most intimate friends of the Most High. While they, whom poverty rendered incapable of such pompous acts of liberality, contributed to the multiplication of religious edifices by their bodily labours, cheerfully performed the services that beasts of burden are usually employed in, such as carrying stones and drawing waggons, and expected to obtain eternal salvation by these voluntary and painful efforts of misguided zeal [q]. The saints had a greater number of worshipers, than the Supreme Being and the Saviour of mankind; nor did these superstitious worshipers trouble their heads about that knotty question, which occasioned much debate and many laborious disquisitions in succeeding times, *viz.* *How the inhabitants of heaven came to the knowledge of the prayers and supplications that were addressed*

Superstition
reigns a-
mong the
multitude.

[p] See GUIBERT DE NOVIGENTO, *De pignoribus* (so were relics called) *sanctorum*, in his *Works* published by DACHERIUS, p. 327. where he attacks, with judgment and dexterity, the superstition of these miserable times.

[q] See HAYMON's Treatise concerning this custom, published by MABILLON, at the end of the sixth tome of his *Annal. Benedict.* See also these *Annals*, p. 392.

CENT.
XII.
PART II.

to them from the earth? This question was prevented, in this century by an opinion, which the Christians had received from their Pagan ancestors, that the inhabitants of heaven descended often from above, and frequented the places, in which they had formerly taken pleasure during their residence upon earth [r]. To finish the horrid portrait of superstition, we shall only observe, that the stupid credulity of the people in this century went so far, that when any person, either through the frenzy of a disordered imagination, or with a design to deceive, published the dreams or visions, which they *fancied*, or *pretended*, they had from above, the multitude resorted to the new oracle, and respected its decisions as the commands of God, who, in this way, was pleased, as they imagined, to communicate counsel, instruction, and the knowledge of his will to men. This appears, to mention no other examples, from the extraordinary reputation, which the two famous prophetesses, HILDEGARD abbess of *Bingen*, and ELIZABETH of *Schonaue*, obtained in *Germany* [s].

The scandalous traffic of indulgences begun by the bishops.

III. This universal reign of ignorance and superstition was dexterously, yet basely, improved by the rulers of the church, to fill their coffers, and to drain the purses of the deluded multitude. And, indeed, all the various ranks and orders of the clergy had each their peculiar method of fleecing the people. The *bishops*, when they wanted money for their private pleasures, or for the exigencies of the church, granted to their flock the power of purchasing the remission of the penalties imposed upon transgressors, by a sum of money, which was to be applied to certain religious purposes; or, in other words, they published *indulgences*, which became an inexhaustible source of opulence to the episcopal orders, and enabled them, as is well known, to form and execute the most difficult schemes

[r] As a proof that this assertion is not without foundation, we shall transcribe the following remarkable passage of the *Life of St. ALTMAN*, bishop of Padua, as it stands in SEB. TENGNAGL's *Collect. Vet. Monumentor.* p. 41. *Vos licet, sancti Domini, somno vestro requiescatis . . . haud tamen crediderim, spiritus vestros deesse locis, quæ viventes tanta devotione construxistis et dilexistis. Credo vos adesse cunctis illic degentibus, astare videlicet orantibus, succurrere laborantibus, et vota singulorum in conspectu divinæ majestatis promoveri.*

[s] See MABILLON, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 431. 529. 554.

for

for the enlargement of their authority, and to erect a multitude of sacred edifices, which augmented considerably the external pomp and splendor of the church [t]. The abbots and monks, who were not qualified to grant *indulgences*, had recourse to other methods of enriching their convents. They carried about the country the carcases and relics of the saints in solemn procession, and permitted the multitude to behold, touch, and embrace these sacred and lucrative remains, at certain fixed prices. The monastic orders gained often as much by this raree-show, as the bishops did by their indulgences [u].

IV. When the Roman pontiffs cast an eye upon the immense treasures, that the inferior rulers of the church were accumulating by the sale of *indulgences*, they thought proper to limit the power of the bishops in remitting the penalties imposed upon transgressors, and assumed, almost entirely, this profitable traffic to themselves. In consequence of this new measure, the court of *Rome* became the general magazine of indulgences; and the pontiffs, when either the wants of the church, the emptiness of their coffers, or the demon of avarice, prompted them to look out for new subsidies, published, not only an universal, but also a complete, or what they called a *plenary* remission of all the *temporal* pains and penalties, which the church had annexed to certain transgressions. They went still farther; and not only remitted the penalties, which the civil and ecclesiastical laws had enacted against transgressors, but audaciously usurped the authority which belongs to God alone, and impiously pretended to abolish even the punishments which are reserved in a future state for the workers of iniquity; a step this, which the bishops, with all their avarice and presumption, had never once ventured to take [w].

And afterwards monopolized by the Roman pontiffs.

[t] STEPHANUS, *Obazinensis* in BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. iv. p. 130.—MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 535, &c.

[u] We find in the records of this century innumerable examples of this method of extorting contributions from the multitude. See the *Chronicon Centulense* in DACHERII *Spicilegio Veter. Scriptor.* tom. ii. p. 354.—*Vita Stæ Romanæ*, *ibid.* p. 137.—MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 342. 644.—*Acta Sanctor. Mensis Maii*, tom. vii. p. 533. where we have an account of a long journey made by the relics of *St. Marculus*.—MABILLON, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 519, 520. & tom. ii. p. 732.

[w] MORINUS, *De administratione sacramenti pœnitentiæ*, lib. x.

CENT.
XII.
PART II.

The pontiffs first employed this pretended prerogative in promoting the holy war, and shed abroad their *indulgences*, though with a certain degree of moderation, in order to encourage the European princes to form new expeditions for the conquest of *Palestine*; but, in process of time, the charm of indulgences was practised upon various occasions of much less consequence, and merely with a view to filthy lucre [x]. Their introduction, among other things, destroyed the credit and authority of the ancient *canonical and ecclesiastical discipline of penance*, and occasioned the removal and suppression of the *penitentials* [y], by which the reins were let loose to every kind of vice. Such proceedings stood much in need of a plausible defence, but this was impossible. To justify therefore these scandalous measures of the pontiffs, a most monstrous and absurd doctrine was now invented, which which was modified and embellished by St. THOMAS in the following century, and which contained among others the following enormities; “That there actually existed an immense treasure of *merit*, composed of the pious deeds, and virtuous actions, which the saints had performed *beyond what was necessary* for their own salvation [z], and which were therefore applicable to the benefit of others; that the guardian and dispenser of this precious treasure was the Roman pontif; and that, of consequence, he was empowered to *assign* to such as he thought proper, a *portion* of this inexhaustible source of *merit*, suitable to their respective *guilt*, and sufficient to deliver them from the punishment due to their crimes.” It is a most deplorable mark of the power of superstition, that a doctrine, so absurd in its nature, and so pernicious in its effects, should yet be retained and defended in the church of Rome [a].

cap. xx, xxi, xxii. p. 768.—RICH. SIMON, *Biblioth. Critique*, tom. iii. cap. xxxiii. p. 371.—MABILLON, *Præf. ad Acta Sanctor. Sec. v. Actor. Sanctor. Benedict.* p. 54. not to speak of the protestant writers, whom I designedly pass over.

[x] MURATORI *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 761.—FRANC. PAGI *Breviar. Rom. Pontif.* tom. ii. p. 60.—THEOD. RUINARTI *Vita Urbani II*, p. 231. tom. iii. Opp. Posthum.

[y] The *Penitential* was a book, in which the degree and kind of penance that were annexed to each crime, were registered.

[z] These works are known by the name of *Works of Supererogation*.

[a] For a satisfactory and ample account of the enormous pernicious

V. Nothing was more common in this century than expositors and interpreters of the sacred writings ; but nothing was so rare, as to find, in that class of authors, the qualifications that are essentially required in a good commentator. Few of these expositors were attentive to search after the true signification of the words employed by the sacred writers, or to investigate the precise sense in which they were used ; and these few were destitute of the succours which such researches demand. The Greek and Latin commentators, blinded by their enthusiastic love of antiquity, and their implicit veneration for the doctors of the early ages of the church, drew from their writings, without discernment or choice, a heap of passages, which they were pleased to consider as illustrations of the holy scriptures. Such were the commentaries of EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS, an eminent expositor among the Greeks, upon the *Psalms*, *Gospels*, and *Epistles* ; though it must, at the same time, be acknowledged, that this writer follows, in some places, the dictates of his own judgment, and gives, upon certain occasions, proofs of penetration and genius. Among the Latins, we might give several examples of the injudicious manner of expounding the divine word that prevailed in this century, such as the *Lucubrations* of PETER LOMBARD, GILBERT DE LA POREE, and the famous ABE-LARD, upon the *Psalms* of DAVID, and the *Epistles* of St. PAUL. Nor do those commentators among the Latins, who expounded the whole of the sacred writings, and who are placed at the head of the expositors of this age, such as GILBERT, bishop of *London*, surnamed the *Universal*, on account of the vast extent of his erudition [b], and

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T II.

The expositors and commentators of this century.

doctrine of indulgences, see a very learned and judicious work, entitled, *Lettres sur les Jubilés*, published in the year 1751, in three volumes 8vo, by the Reverend Mr. CHAIS, minister of the French church in the *Hague*, on occasion of the universal *Jubilee* celebrated at *Rome* the preceding year, by the order of BENEDICT XIV. In the 2d volume of this excellent work, which we shall have frequent occasion to consult in the course of this history, there is a clear account and a satisfactory refutation of the doctrine in question, as also the history of that monstrous practice from its origin to the present times.

[b] For an account of this prelate, see LE BOEUF, *Memoires concernant l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. ii. p. 486.

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T II.

HERVEY, a most studious Benedictine monk [c], deserve a higher place in our esteem, than the authors already mentioned. The writers that merit the preference among the Latins are RUPERT of *Duytz*, and ANSELM of *Laon*; the former of whom expounded several books of scripture, and the latter composed, or rather compiled, a *glossary upon the sacred writings*. As to those doctors who were not carried away by an enthusiastical veneration for the ancients, who had courage enough to try their own talents, and to follow the dictates of their own sagacity, they were chargeable with defects of another kind; for, disregarding and overlooking the beautiful simplicity of divine truth, they were perpetually bent on the search of all sorts of mysteries in the sacred writings, and were constantly on the scent after some hidden meaning in the plainest expressions of scripture. The people, called *Mystics*, excelled peculiarly in this manner of expounding; and forced, by their violent explications, the word of God into a conformity with their visionary doctrines, their enthusiastic feelings, and the system of discipline which they had drawn from the excursions of their irregular fancies. Nor were the commentators, who pretended to logic and philosophy, and who, in effect, had applied themselves to these profound sciences, free from the contagion of *mysticism* in their explications of scripture. They followed, on the contrary, the example of these fanatics, as may be seen by HUGH of St. VICTOR's *Allegorical Exposition of the Old and New Testament*, by the *Mystical Ark* of RICHARD of St. VICTOR, and by the *Mystical Commentaries* of GUIBERT, abbot of *Nogent*, on *Obadiab*, *Hosea*, and *Amos* [d]; not to mention several other writers, who seem to have been animated by the same spirit.

The manner
of teaching
theology
that now
prevailed.

VI. The most eminent teachers of theology resided at *Paris*, which city was, from this time forward, frequented by students of divinity from all parts of *Europe*, who resorted thither in crowds, to receive instruction from these celebrated masters. The French divines were divided in-

[c] An ample account of this learned Benedictine is to be found in GABR. LIRON, *Singularites Historiques et Literaires*, tom. iii. p. 29. — See also MABILLON, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 477. 719.

[d] The *Prologus in Abdiam* has been published by MABILLON, in his *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 637.

to different sects. The first of these sects, who were distinguished by the title of *The Ancient Theologists*, explained the doctrines of religion, in a plain and simple manner, by passages drawn from the holy scriptures, from the decrees of councils, and the writings of the ancient doctors, and very rarely made use of the succours of reason or philosophy in their theological lectures. In this class we place St. BERNARD, PETER surnamed the *Chanter*, WALTER of St. VICTOR, and other doctors, who declared an open and bitter war against the *philosophical divines*. The doctors, which were afterwards known by the name of *Positivi* and *Sententiarii*, were not, in all respects, different from these now mentioned. Imitating the examples of ANSELM, archbishop of *Canterbury*, LANFRANC, HILDEBERT, and other doctors of the preceding century, they taught and confirmed their system of theology, principally, by collecting the decisions of the inspired writers, and the opinions of the ancients. At the same time, they were far from rejecting the succours of reason, and the discussions of philosophy, to which they more especially had recourse, when difficulties were to be solved, and adversaries to be refuted, but in the application of which all did not discover the same degree of moderation and prudence. HUGH of St. VICTOR is supposed to have been the first writer of this century, who taught in this manner the doctrines of Christianity digested into a regular system. His example, however, was followed by many; but none acquired such a shining reputation by his labours, in this branch of sacred erudition, as PETER, bishop of *Paris*, surnamed LOMBARD, from the country which gave him birth. The *Four Books of Sentences* of this eminent prelate, which appeared in the year 1172 [e], were not only received with universal applause, but acquired also such a high degree of authority, as induced the most learned doctors in all places to employ their labours in illustrating and expounding them. Scarcely was there any divine of note that did not undertake this popular task, except HENRY of *Gendt*, and a few others [f]; so that LOM-

[e] ERPOLDI LINDENBROGII *Scriptores Septemtrionales*, p. 250.[f] A list of the commentators who laboured in explaining the *Sentences* of PETER LOMBARD, is given by ANTON. POSSEVINUS, in his *Biblioth. Selecta*, tom. i. lib. iii. cap. xiv. p. 242.

C E N T. BARD, who was commonly called *Master of the sentences*,
 XII. on account of the famous work now mentioned, became
 PART II. truly a classic author in divinity [g].

The scholastics, properly so called.

VII. The followers of LOMBARD, who were called *Sententarii*, though their manner of teaching was defective in some respects, and not altogether exempt from vain and trivial questions, were always attentive to avoid entering too far into the subtleties of the Dialecticians, nor did they presumptuously attempt submitting the divine truths of the gospel to the uncertain and obscure principles of a refined and intricate logic, which was rather founded on the excursions of fancy than on the nature of things. They had for contemporaries another set of theologists, who were far from imitating their moderation and prudence in this respect; a set of subtle doctors, who taught the plain and simple truths of Christianity in the obscure terms and with the perplexing distinctions used by the Dialecticians, and explained, or rather darkened, with their unintelligible jargon, the sublime precepts of the wisdom that is from above. This method of teaching theology, which was afterwards called the *scholastic* system, because it was in general use in the schools, had for its author PETER ABELARD, a man of the most subtle genius, whose public lectures in philosophy and divinity had raised him to the highest summit of literary renown, and who was successively canon of *Paris*, and monk and abbot of *Ruys* [h]. The fame he acquired by this new method

[g] The *Book of Sentences*, which rendered the name of PETER LOMBARD so illustrious, was a compilation of sentences and passages drawn from the fathers, whose manifold contradictions this eminent prelate endeavoured to reconcile. His work may be considered as a complete body of divinity. It consists of FOUR BOOKS, each of which is subdivided into various chapters and sections. In the FIRST he treats of the *Trinity*, and the *Divine Attributes*; in the SECOND, of the *Creation* in general, of the *Origin of Angels*, the *Formation and Fall of Man*, of *Grace and Free Will*, of *Original Sin* and *Actual Transgression*; in the THIRD, of the *Incarnation*, and *Perfections of Jesus Christ*, of *Faith, Hope, and Charity*, of the *Gifts of the Spirit*, and the *Commandments of God*. The *Sacraments*, the *Resurrection*, the *Last Judgment*, and the *State of the Righteous in Heaven*, are the subjects treated in the FOURTH and last book of this famous work, which was the wonder of the twelfth century, and is little more than an object of contempt in ours.

[h] ABELARD acknowledges this himself, *Epist. i. cap. ix. p. 20.*

engaged many ambitious divines to adopt it; and, in a short space of time, the followers of ABELARD multiplied prodigiously, not only in *France*, but also in *England* and *Italy*. Thus was the *pure* and *peaceable* wisdom of the gospel perverted into a science of mere sophistry and chicanery; for these subtle doctors never explained or illustrated any subject, but, on the contrary, darkened and disfigured the plainest expressions, and the most evident truths, by their laboured and useless distinctions, fatigued both themselves and others with unintelligible solutions of abstruse and frivolous questions, and, through a rage for disputing, maintained with equal vehemence and ardour the opposite sides of the most serious and momentous questions [i].

CENT.
XII.
PART II.

VIII. From this period, therefore, an important distinction was made between the Christian doctors, who were divided into two classes. In the first class were placed those, who were called by the various names of *biblici*, i. e. bible-doctors, *dogmatici*, and *positivi*, i. e. didactic divines, and also *veteres*, or ancients; and in the second were ranged the *scholastics*, who were also distinguished by the titles of *Sententiarii*, after the *Master of the sentences*, and *Novi*, to express their recent origin. The former expounded, though in a wretched manner, the sacred writings in their public schools, illustrated the doctrines of Christianity without deriving any succours from reason or philosophy, and confirmed their opinions by the united testimonies of *Scripture* and *Tradition*. The latter expounded, instead of the Bible, the famous *Book of Sentences*; reduced, under the province of their subtle philosophy, whatever the gospel proposed as an object of faith, or a rule of practice; and perplexed and obscured its divine doctrines and precepts by a multitude of vain questions and idle speculations [k]. The method of the *scholastics* exhibited a pompous aspect of learning, and

The Christian doctors divided into two classes, called *biblici* and *scholastic*.

Oper.—See also LAUNOIUS, *De Scholis Caroli M.* p. 67. cap. lix. tom. iv. opp. part I.

[i] CÆS. EGASSE DE BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 201. 583.—ANTON. WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 58.—LAUNOIUS, *De varia Aristotelis fortuna in Acad. Paris.* cap. iii. p. 187. Edit. *Elfwichii Vitem.* 1720. in 8vo.

[k] See BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 657.

these

C E N: T.
XII.
P A R T II.

The scho-
lastic divines
opposed from
different
quarters.

these subtle doctors seemed to surpass their adversaries in sagacity and genius; hence they excited the admiration of the studious youth, who flocked to their schools in multitudes, while the *biblici*, or *doctors of the sacred page*, as they were also called, had the mortification to see their auditories unfrequented, and almost totally deserted [1]. The scholastic theology continued in high repute in all the European colleges until the time of LUTHER.

IX. It must, however, be observed, that these metaphysical divines had many difficulties to encounter, and much opposition to overcome, before they could obtain that boundless authority in the European schools, which they enjoyed so long. They were attacked from different quarters; on the one hand, by the *ancient divines*, or bible-doctors; on the other, by the *mystics*, who considered true wisdom and knowledge as unattainable by study or reasoning, and as the fruit of mere contemplation, inward feeling, and a passive acquiescence in divine influences. Thus that antient conflict between *faith* and *reason*, that had formerly divided the Latin doctors, and had been for many years hushed in silence, was now unhappily revived, and produced every where new tumults and dissensions. The patrons and defenders of the ancient theology, who attacked the schoolmen, were GUIBERT abbot of *Nogent* [m], PETER abbot of *Moustier-*

[1] The *Book of Sentences* seemed to be at this time in much greater repute, than the holy scriptures, and the compilations of PETER LOMBARD were preferred to the doctrines and precepts of JESUS CHRIST. This appears evident from the following remarkable passage in ROGER BACON's *Op. Maj. ad Clementem IV, Pontif. Rom.* published in 1733 at London, by SAM. JEBB, from the original MSS. *Baccalaureus qui legit textum (scripturæ) succumbit lectori sententiarum, et ubique in omnibus honoratur et præfertur: nam ille, qui legit sententias, habet principalem horam legendi secundum suam voluntatem, habet et socium et cameram apud religiosos: sed qui legit Bibliam, caret his, et mendicat horam legendi secundum quod placet lectori sententiarum: et qui legit summas, disputat ubique et pro magistro habetur, reliquus qui textum legit, non potest disputare, sicut fuit hoc anno Bononiæ, et in multis aliis locis, quod est absurdum: manifestum est igitur, quod textus illius facultatis (sc. Theologicæ) subjicitur uni summæ magistrali.* Such was now the authority of the scholastic theology, as appears from the words of BACON, who lived in the following age, and in whose writings there are many things highly worthy of the attention of the curious.

[m] In his *Tropologia in Oseam*, p. 203. Opp.

la-

la-Celle [n], PETER the Chanter [o], and principally WALTER of St. VICTOR [p]. The mystics also sent forth into the field of controversy upon this occasion their ablest and most violent champions, such as JOACHIM, abbot of *Flori*, RICHARD of St. VICTOR, who loaded with invectives the scholastic divines, and more especially LOMBARD, though he was, undoubtedly, the most candid and modest doctor of that subtle tribe. These dissensions and contests, whose deplorable effects augmented from day to day, engaged ALEXANDER III, who was pontif at this time, to interpose his authority, in order to restore tranquillity and concord in the church. For this purpose he convoked a solemn and numerous assembly of the clergy in the year 1164 [q], in which the licentious rage of disputing about religious matters was condemned; and another in the year 1179, in which some particular errors of PETER LOMBARD were pointed out and censured [r].

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T II.

X. But of all the adversaries that assailed the scholastic divines in this century, none was so formidable as the famous St. BERNARD, whose zeal was ardent beyond all expression, and whose influence and authority were equal to his zeal. And, accordingly, we find this illustrious abbot combating the Dialecticians, not only in his writings and his conversation, but also by his deeds; arming against them synods and councils, the decrees of the church, and the laws of the state. The renowned ABELARD, who was as much superior to St. BERNARD in sagacity and erudition, as he was his inferior in credit and authority, was one of the first, who felt, by a bitter experience, the aversion of the lordly abbot to the scholastic

And principally by
St. Bernard.

[n] *Opuscul.* p. 277. 396. edit. *Benedict.*

[o] In his *Verbum Abbreviat.* cap. iii. p. 6, 7. published at Mons in the year 1639, in 4to, by GEORGE GALOPIN.

[p] In his *Libri iv. contra Quatuor Franciæ Labyrinthos et novos hereticos.* He called *Abelard*, *Gilbert de la Porrée*, *Lombard*, and *Peter of Poitiers*, who were the principal scholastic divines of this century, the four *Labyrinths of France*. For an account of this work, which is yet in manuscript, see BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 619. 659.

[q] ANT. PAGI *Critic. in Baronium*, tom. iv. ad A. 1164. p. 614, 615.

[r] MATTH. PARIS, *Histor. Major*, p. 115.—BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 402.

CENT.
XII.
PART II.

doctors. For, in the year 1121, he was called before the council of *Soissons*, and before that of *Sens* in the year 1140, in both of which assemblies he was accused by St. BERNARD of the most pernicious errors, and was finally condemned, as an egregious heretic [s]. The charge brought against this subtle and learned monk was, that he had notoriously corrupted the doctrine of the Trinity, blasphemed against the majesty of the Holy Ghost, entertained unworthy and false conceptions of the person and offices of CHRIST, and the union of the two natures in him, denied the necessity of the divine grace to render us virtuous, and in a word, that his doctrines struck at the fundamental principles of all religion. It must be confessed by those, who are acquainted with the writings of ABELARD, that he expressed himself in a very singular and incongruous manner upon several points of theology [t]; and this indeed is one of the inconveniences to which subtle refinements upon mysterious doctrines frequently lead. But it is certain, on the other hand, that St. BERNARD, who had much more genius than logic, misunderstood some of the opinions of ABELARD, and wilfully perverted others. For the zeal of this good abbot too rarely permitted him to consult in his decisions the dictates of impartial equity; and hence it was, that he almost always applauded beyond measure, and censured without mercy [u].

[s] See BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article ABELARD.—GERVAIS, *Vie d'Abelard et d'Heloise*.—MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 63. 84. 324. 395.—MARTENE, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 1139.

[t] He affirmed, for example, among other things equally unintelligible and extravagant, that the names *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, were improper terms, and were only used to express the fullness of the sovereign good; that the *Father* was the plenitude of power, the *Son* a certain power, and the *Holy Ghost* no power at all; that the *Holy Ghost* was the soul of the world, with other crude fancies of a like nature, mingled, however, with bold truths.

[u] See GERVAIS, *Vie d'Abelard*, tom. ii. p. 162.—LE CLERC, *Biblioth. Ancienne et Moderne*, tom. ix. p. 352.—DIONYS. PETAV. *Dogmata Theolog.* tom. i. lib. v. cap. vi. p. 217. as also the works of BERNARD, *passim*. ABELARD, who, notwithstanding all his crude notions, was a man of true genius, was, undoubtedly, worthy of a better fate than that which fell to his lot, and of a more enlightened age than that in which he lived. After passing through the furnace

XI. ABELARD

XI. ABELARD was not the only scholastic divine, who paid dear for his metaphysical refinement upon the doctrines of the gospel, and whose logic exposed him to the unrelenting fury of persecution; GILBERT DE LA PORRE, bishop of *Poitiers*, who had taught theology and philosophy at *Paris*, and in other places, with the highest applause, met with the same fate. Unfortunately for him, ARNOLD and CALO, two of his archdeacons, who had been educated in the principles of the ancient theology, heard him one day disputing, with more subtilty than was meet, concerning the divine nature. Alarmed at the novelty of his doctrine, they brought a charge of blasphemy against him before pope EUGENIUS III, who was at that time in *France*; and, to give weight to their accusation, they gained over St. BERNARD, and engaged him in their cause. The zealous abbot treated the matter with his usual vehemence, and opposed GILBERT with the utmost severity and bitterness, first in the council of *Paris*, A. D. 1147, and afterwards in that which was assembled at *Rheims* the year following. In this latter council the accused bishop, in order to put an end to the dispute, offered to submit his opinions to the judgment of the assembly, and of the Roman pontif, by whom they were condemned. The errors attributed to GILBERT were the fruits of an excessive subtilty, and of an extravagant passion for reducing the doctrines of Christianity under the empire of metaphysic and dialectic. He distinguished the divine *essence* from the *Deity*, the *properties* of the three divine persons from the *persons* themselves, not in reality, but by abstraction, in *statu rationis*, as the metaphysicians speak; and, in consequence of these distinctions, he denied the incarnation of the divine nature. To these he added other opinions, derived from the same source, which were rather vain, fanciful, and adapted to excite surprize by their novelty, than glaringly false, or really pernicious. These refined notions were far above the comprehension of good St.

of persecution, and having suffered afflictions of various kinds, of which he has transmitted the history to posterity, he retired to the monastery of *Clugni*, where he ended his days in the year 1142.

BERNARD,

CEN T. BERNARD, who was by no means accustomed to such profound disquisitions, to such intricate researches [w].

XII.
PART II.

The state of
moral and
practical
theology.

XII. The important science of morals was not now in a very flourishing state, as may be easily imagined when we consider the genius and spirit of that philosophy, which, in this century, reduced all the other sciences under its dominion, and of which we have given some account in the preceding sections. The only moral writer among the Greeks, who is worthy of mention, is PHILIP, surnamed the *Solitary*, whose book intituled *Dioptra*, which consists in a dialogue between the body and the soul, is composed with judgment and elegance, and contains many things proper to nourish pious and virtuous sentiments.

The Latin Moralists of this age may be divided into two classes, the *scholastics* and *mystics*. The former discoursed about virtue, as they did about truth, in the most unfeeling jargon, and generally subjoined their arid system of morals to what they called their *didactic theology*. The latter treated the duties of morality in a quite different manner; their language was tender, persuasive, and affecting, and their sentiments often beautiful and sublime; but they taught in a confused and irregular manner, without method or precision, and frequently mixed the dross of Platonism with the pure treasures of celestial truth.

We might also place in the class of moral writers the greatest part of the commentators and expositors of this century, who, laying aside all attention to the signification of the words used by the sacred writers, and scarcely ever attempting to illustrate the truths they reveal, or the events which they relate, turned, by forced and allegorical explications, every passage of scripture to practical uses, and drew lessons of morality from every quarter. We could produce many instances of this way of com-

[w] See DU BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. ii. p. 223. 232.—MABILLON, *Annal. Benedic.* tom. vi. p. 343. 415. 433.—*Gallia Christiana Benedictin.* tom. ii. p. 1175.—MATTH. PARIS, *Histor. Major*, p. 56.—PETAVII *Dogmata Theologica*, tom. i. lib. i. cap. viii.—LONGUEVAL, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. ix. p. 147.

menting besides GUIBERT'S *Moral Observations on the Book of Job, the Prophecy of Amos, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah.*

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T II.

XIII. Both Greeks and Latins were seized with that enthusiastic passion for dialectical researches, that raged in this century, and were thereby rendered extremely fond of captious questions and theological contests, while, at the same time, the love of controversy seduced them from the paths that lead to truth, and involved them in labyrinths of uncertainty and error. The discovery of truth was not, indeed, the great object they had in view; their principal design was to puzzle and embarrass their adversaries, and overwhelm them with an enormous heap of fine-spun distinctions, an impetuous torrent of words without meaning, a long list of formidable authorities, and a specious train of fallacious consequences embellished with railings and invectives. The principal polemic writers among the Greeks were CONSTANTINUS HARMENOPULUS, and EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS. The former, published a short treatise *De Sectis Hæreticorum, i. e.* concerning the *Heretical Sects*. The latter, in a long and laboured work, entitled *Panoplia*, attacked all the various heresies and errors that troubled the church; but, not to mention the extreme levity and credulity of this writer, his manner of disputing was highly defective, and all his arguments, according to the wretched method that now prevailed, were drawn from the writings of the ancient doctors, whose authority supplied the place of evidence. Both these authors were sharply censured in a satirical poem composed by ZONARAS. The Latin writers were also employed in various branches of religious controversy. HONORIUS of Autun wrote against certain heresies; and ABELARD combated them all. The Jews, whose credit was now entirely sunk, and whose circumstances were miserable in every respect, were refuted by GILBERT DE CASTILIONE, ODO, PETRUS ALFONSUS, RUPERT of Duryz, PETRUS MAURITIUS, RICHARDUS A Sto. VICTORE, and PETRUS BLESENSIS, according to the logic of the times, and EUTHYMIUS, with several other divines, directed their polemic force against the Saracens.

Polemic
writers.

XIV. The contest between the Greeks and Latins, the subject of which has been already mentioned, was still

The contest
between the
Greeks and
Latins con-
tinued.

VOL. II,

F f

carried

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T II.

carried on by both parties with the greatest obstinacy and vehemence. The Grecian champions were EUTHYMIUS, NICETAS, and others of less renown, while the cause of the Latins was vigorously maintained by ANSELM, bishop of *Havelberg*, and HUGO ETHERIANUS, who distinguished themselves eminently by their erudition in this famous controversy [x]. Many attempts were made, both at *Rome* and *Constantinople*, to reconcile these differences, and to heal these fatal divisions; and this union was solicited, in a particular manner, by the emperors in the Comnene family, who expected to draw much advantage from the friendship and alliance of the Latins, towards the support of the Grecian empire, which was at this time in a declining, nay, almost in a desperate condition. But as the Latins aimed at nothing less than a despotic supremacy over the Greek church, and as, on the other hand, the Grecian bishops could by no means be induced to yield an implicit obedience to the Roman pontif, or to condemn the measures and proceedings of their ancestors, the negotiations, undertaken for the restoration of peace, widened the breach instead of healing it, and the terms proposed on both sides, but especially by the Latins, exasperated, instead of calming, the resentments and animosities of the contending parties.

Matters of
less moment
controverted
among the
Greeks.

XV. Many controversies of inferior moment were carried on among the Greeks, who were extremely fond of disputing, and were scarcely ever without debates upon religious matters. We shall not enter into a circumstantial narration of these theological contests, which are more proper to fatigue than to amuse or instruct, but shall confine ourselves to a brief mention of those which made the greatest noise in the empire. Under the reign of EMANUEL COMNENUS, whose extensive learning was accompanied with an excessive curiosity, several theological controversies were carried on, in which he himself bore a principal part, and which fomented such discords and animosities among a people already exhausted and dejected by intestine tumults, as threatened their destruction. The first question that exercised the metaphysical talent of this

[x] See LEQ ALLATIUS *De perpetua consensione Ecclesie Orientalis et Occident.* lib. ii. cap. xi. p. 644.

over-curious emperor and his subtle doctors was this : *In what sense it was or might be affirmed, that an incarnate God was at the same time the OFFERER and the OBLATION ?*

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T II.

When this knotty question had been long debated, and the emperor had maintained, for a considerable time, the solution of it that was contrary to the opinion generally received, he yielded at length, and embraced the popular notion of that unintelligible subject. The consequence of this step was, that many men of eminent abilities and great credit, who had differed from the doctrine of the church upon this article, were deprived of their honours and employments [y]. What the emperor's opinion of this matter was, we find no where related in a satisfactory manner, and we are equally ignorant of the sentiments adopted by the church in relation to this question. It is highly probable that the emperor, followed by certain learned doctors, differed from the opinions generally received among the Greeks concerning the Lord's supper, and the *oblation* or sacrifice of CHRIST in that holy ordinance.

XVI. Some years after this, a still more warm contest arose concerning the sense of those words of CHRIST, *John xiv. 28. For my Father is greater than I,* and divided the Greeks into the most bitter and deplorable factions. To the ancient explications of that important passage new illustrations were now added ; and the emperor himself, who, from an indifferent prince, was become a wretched divine, published an exposition of that remarkable text, which he obtruded, as the only true sense of the words, upon a council assembled for that purpose, and was desirous of having received as a rule of faith by all the Grecian clergy. He maintained, that the words in question related to the *flesh that was hid in Christ, and that was passible, i. e. subject to suffering* [z], and not only ordered this decision to be engraven on tables of stone in the principal church of *Constantinople*, but also published an edict in which capital punishments were denounced against all such, as should presume to oppose this explication, or

The Greeks
dispute con-
cerning the
words of
Christ, *John*
xiv. 28.

[y] NICETAS CHONIATES, *Annal. Lib. vii. § 5. p. 112. ed. Venetæ.*

[z] Κατὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ κλητὴν καὶ παθητὴν σάρκα.

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T II.

Concerning
the God of
Mahomet.

teach any doctrine repugnant to it [a]. This edict, however, expired with the emperor by whom it was issued out; and ANDRONICUS, upon his accession to the imperial throne, prohibited all those contests concerning speculative points of theology, that arose from an irregular and wanton curiosity, and suppressed, in a more particular manner, all inquiry into the subject now mentioned, by enacting the severest penalties against such as should in any way contribute to revive this dispute [b].

XVII. The same theological emperor troubled the church with another controversy concerning the God of MAHOMET. The Greek Catechisms pronounced *anathema* against the Deity worshiped by that false prophet, whom they represented as a *solid* and *spherical Being* [c]; for so they translated the Arabian word *elsemed*, which is applied in the *koran* to the Supreme Being, and which indeed is susceptible of that sense, though it also signifies *eternal* [d]. The emperor ordered this *anathema* to be effaced in the Catechism of the Greek church, on account of the high offence it gave to the Mahometans, who had either been already converted to Christianity, or were disposed to embrace that divine religion, and who were extremely shocked at such an insult offered to the name of God, with whatever restrictions and conditions it might be attended. The Christian doctors, on the other hand, opposed with much resolution and vehemence this imperial order. They observed that the *anathema*, pronounced in the Catechism, had no relation to the nature of God in general, nor to the true God in particular; and that, on the contrary, it was solely directed against the error of MAHOMET, against that phantom of a divinity which he had imagined. For that impostor pretended that the Deity could neither be *engendred* nor *engender*; whereas the Christians adore God the *Father*. After the bitterest disputes concerning this abstruse subject, and various efforts to reconcile the contending parties, the bishops, assembled in council, consented, though with the utmost difficulty, to transfer the *imprecation* of

[a] NICETAS CHONIATES *Annal.* lib. vii. § 6. p. 113.

[b] NICETAS in *Andronico*, lib. ii. § 5. p. 175.

[c] ὁλόσφαιρος.

[d] RELAND. *De Religione Mohammedica*, lib. ii. § 3. p. 142.

the Catechism from the God of MAHOMET, to MAHOMET himself, his doctrine, and his sect [e].

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T II.

XVIII. The spirit of controversy raged among the Latins, as well as among the Greeks, and various sentiments concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper were propagated, not only in the schools, but also in the writings of the learned. For though all the doctors of the church were now extremely desirous of being looked upon as enemies to the system of BERENGER, yet many of them, and among others [f] RUPERT of *Duytz*, differed very little from the sentiments of that great man; at least, it is certain, that notwithstanding the famous controversy which had arisen in the church concerning the opinions of BERENGER, nothing was, as yet, precisely determined with respect to the manner of CHRIST's presence in the eucharist.

The controversy concerning the Lord's supper is carried on among the Latins.

RUPERT had also religious contests of another nature with ANSELM, bishop of *Laon*, WILLIAM of *Champeaux*, and their disciples and followers, who maintained their doctrine, when they were no more. The *divine will* and the *divine omnipotence* were the subjects of this controversy, and the question debated was, "Whether God *really will*," "ed, and *actually produced* all things that exist, or whether "there are certain things whose existence he *merely permits*, and whose production, instead of being the *effect* "of his will, was contrary to it?" The affirmative of the latter part of this question was maintained by RUPERT, while his adversaries held that all things were the effects not only of the *divine power*, but also of the *divine will*. This learned abbot was also accused of having taught that the *angels were formed out of darkness*; that CHRIST *did not administer his body to JUDAS in the last supper*; and several other doctrines [g], contrary to the received opinions of the church.

XIX. These and other controversies of a more private kind, which made little noise in the world, were succeeded, about the year 1140, by one of a more public nature

As also that concerning the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary.

[e] NICETÆ CHON. *Annales*, lib. vii. p. 113—116.

[f] BOULAY, *Histor. Academ. Paris*. tom. ii. p. 30.

[g] See MINGOZ. *Epistola*, published by MARTENE, in his *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 290.—JO. MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 19, 20. 42. 168. 261.

C E N T.
XII.
P A R T II.

concerning, what was called, the *Immaculate conception* of the Virgin MARY [b]. Certain churches in France began, about that time, to celebrate the festival consecrated to this pretended *conception*, which the English had observed before this period in consequence of the exhortations of ANSELM, archbishop of Canterbury, as some authors report. The church of *Lions* was one of the first that adopted this new festival, which no sooner came to the knowledge of St. BERNARD, than he severely censured the Canons of *Lions* on account of this innovation, and opposed the *Immaculate conception of the Virgin* with the greatest vigour, as it supposed her being honoured with a privilege, which belonged to CHRIST alone. Upon this a warm contest arose; some siding with the Canons of *Lions*, and adopting the new festival, while others adhered to the sentiments of St. BERNARD [i]. The controversy, however, notwithstanding the zeal of the contending parties, was carried on, during this century, with a certain degree of decency and moderation. But, in after times, when the Dominicans were established in the academy of *Paris*, the contest was renewed with the greatest vehemence, and the same subject was debated, on both sides, with the utmost animosity and contention of mind. The Dominicans declared for St. BERNARD, while the academy patronized the canons of *Lions*, and adopted the new festival.

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the church during this century.

Rites used
in the Greek
church.

I. THE rites and ceremonies used in divine worship, both public and private, were now greatly augmented among the Greeks, and the same superstitious

[b] The defenders of this *Immaculate Conception* maintained, that the Virgin MARY was conceived in the womb of her mother with the same purity that is attributed to CHRIST's conception in her womb.

[i] STI. BERNARDI *Epistola* 174. tom. i. p. 170.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. ii. p. 135.—MABILLON, *Annal. Bened.* passion

passion for the introduction of new observances, discovered itself in all the eastern churches. The Grecian, Nestorian, and Jacobite pontifs, that were any way remarkable for their credit or ambition, were desirous of transmitting their names to posterity by the invention of some new rite, or by some striking change introduced into the method of worship that had hitherto prevailed. This was, indeed, almost the only way left to distinguish themselves in an age, where all sense of the excellence of genuine religion and substantial piety being almost totally lost, the whole care and attention of an ostentatious clergy, and a superstitious multitude, were employed upon that round of external ceremonies and observances that were substituted in their place. Thus some attempted, though in vain, to render their names immortal, by introducing a new method of reading or reciting the prayers of the church; others changed the church music; others, again, tortured their inventions to find out some new mark of veneration, that might be offered to the relics and images of the saints; while several ecclesiastics did not disdain to employ their time, with the most serious assiduity, in embellishing the garments of the clergy, and in forming the motions and postures they were to observe, and the looks they were to assume, in the celebration of divine worship.

II. We may learn from the book *De divinis officiis*, composed by the famous RUPERT, or ROBERT, of Duytz, what were the rites in use among the Latins during this century, as also the reasons on which they were founded. According to the plan we follow, we cannot here enlarge upon the additions that were made to the doctrinal part of religion. We shall therefore only observe, that the enthusiastic veneration for the Virgin MARY, which had been hitherto carried to such an excessive height, increased now instead of diminishing, since her dignity was at this time considerably augmented by the new fiction or invention relating to her *immaculate conception*. For though, as we observed in the preceding chapter, St. BERNARD and others opposed with vigour this chimerical notion, yet their efforts were counteracted by the superstiti-

The Latin ritual.

tom. vi. p. 327.—DOM. COLONIA, *Hist. Litt. de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 233.

CENT.
XII.
PART II.

ous fury of the deluded multitude, whose judgment prevailed over the counsels of the wise. So that about the year 1138, there was a solemn festival instituted in honour of this pretended *conception*, though we know not, with any degree of certainty, by whose authority it was first established, nor in what place it was first celebrated [k].

CHAP. V.

Concerning the divisions and heresies that troubled the church, during this Century.

Fanatics of
different
kinds infest
the Greek
church.

I. **T**HE Greek and eastern churches were infested with fanatics of different kinds, who gave them much trouble, and engaged them in the most warm and violent contests. Certain of these fanatics professed to believe in a double trinity, rejected wedlock, abstained from flesh, treated with the utmost contempt the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, as also all the various branches of external worship, placed the essence of religion in internal prayer alone, and maintained, as it is said, that an evil being, or genius, dwelt in the breast of every mortal, and could be expelled from thence by no other method, than by perpetual supplications to the Supreme Being. The founder of this enthusiastical sect is said to have been a person called LUCOPETRUS. His chief disciple was named TYCHICUS, who corrupted, by false and fanatical interpretations, several books of the sacred writings, and particularly the *Gospel according to St. Matthew* [l]. It is well known, that enthusiasts of this kind, who were rather wrong-headed than vicious, lived among the Greeks and Syrians, and more especially among the monks, for many ages before this period, and also in this century. The accounts, indeed, that have been given of them, are not in all respects to be depended upon; and there are several circumstances which render it extremely probable, that many persons of eminent piety, and zeal for genuine

[k] MABILLON, *Annal. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 327. 412.—*Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 1198.

[l] See EUTHYMIUS *Triumphus de Secta Massalianorum* in JAC. TOLLII *Insignibus Itineris Italici*, p. 106—125.

Christianity,

Christianity, were confounded by the Greeks with these enthusiasts, and ranked in the list of heretics, merely on account of their opposing the vicious practices and the insolent tyranny of the priesthood, and their treating with derision that motley spectacle of superstition that was supported by public authority. In *Greece*, and in all the eastern provinces, this sort of men were distinguished by the general and invidious appellation of *Massalians*, or *Euchites* [*m*], as the Latins comprehended all the adversaries of the Roman pontif under the general terms of *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*. It is, however, necessary to observe, that the names abovementioned were very vague and ambiguous in the way they were applied by the Greeks and the Orientals, who made use of them to characterize, without distinction, all such as complained of the multitude of useless ceremonies, and of the vices of the clergy, without any regard to the difference, that there was between such persons in point of principles and morals. In short, the righteous and the profligate, the wise and the foolish, were equally comprehended under the name of *Massalians*, whenever they opposed the raging superstition of the times, or looked upon true and genuine piety as the essence of the Christian character.

II. From the sect now mentioned, that of the *Bogomiles* is said to have proceeded, whose founder *BASILIUS*, a monk by profession, was burnt at *Constantinople*, under the reign of *ALEXIUS COMNENUS*, after all attempts to make him renounce his errors had proved ineffectual. By the accounts we have of this unhappy man, and of the errors he taught, it appears sufficiently evident, that his doctrine re-

The Bogomiles.

§ [*m*] *Massalians* and *Euchites* are denominations that signify the same thing, and denote, the one in the Hebrew, and the other in the Greek language, *persons that pray*. A sect, under this denomination, arose during the reign of the emperor *CONSTANTIUS*, about the year 361, founded by certain monks of *Mesopotamia*, who dedicated themselves wholly to prayer, and held many of the doctrines attributed by Dr. *MOSHEIM* to the *Massalians* of the XIIIth century. See *AUGUST. De Heres. cap. lvii.* and *THEOD. Heret. Fab. lib. iv.* *EPIPHANIUS* speaks of another sort of *Massalians* still more antient, who were mere Gentiles, acknowledged several gods, yet adored only one whom they called *Almighty*, and had oratories in which they assembled to pray and sing hymns. This resemblance between the *Massalians* and the *Essenes*, induced *SCALIGER* to think that *EPIPHANIUS* confounded the former with the latter.

sembled,

CENT.
XII.
PART II.

sembled, in a striking manner, the religious system of the ancient Gnostics and Manichæans ; though, at the same time, it is possible that the Greeks may have falsified his tenets in some respects. BASILIUS maintained, that the world and all animal bodies were formed not by the Deity, but by an evil demon, who had been cast down from heaven by the Supreme Being ; from whence he concluded, that the body was no more than the prison of the immortal spirit, and that it was, therefore, to be enervated by fasting, contemplation, and other exercises, that so the soul might be gradually restored to its primitive liberty ; for this purpose also wedlock was to be avoided, with many other circumstances which we have often had occasion to explain and repeat in the course of this history. It was in consequence of the same principles, that this unfortunate enthusiast denied the *reality* of CHRIST's body, which, like the Gnostics and Manichæans, he considered only as a phantom, rejected the law of MOSES, and maintained that the body, upon its separation by death, returned to the malignant mass of matter, without either the prospect or possibility of a future resurrection to life and felicity. We have so many examples of fanatics of this kind in the records of ancient times, and also in the history of this century, that it is by no means to be wondered, that some one of them more enterprising than the rest should found a sect among the Greeks. The name of this sect was taken from the *divine mercy*, which its members are said to have incessantly implored ; for the word *bogomilus*, in the Mysian language, signifies *calling out for mercy from above* [n].

The Latin
sects, and
the abuses
from whence
they sprung.

III. The Latin sects were yet more numerous than those of the Greeks, and this will not appear at all surprising to such as consider the state of religion in the greatest part of the European provinces. The reign of superstition, the vices of the clergy, the luxury and indolence of the pontiffs and bishops, the encouragement of impiety

[n] See ANNA COMNENA *Alexiados* lib. xv. p. 384. edit. Venetæ.—ZONARAS *Annalium*, lib. xviii. p. 336.—JO. CHRIST. WOLF. *Historia Bogomilorum*, published at Witteberg, in 4to 1712.—SAM. ANDRÆ *Diss. de Bogomilis* in JO. VOIGTII *Bibliotheca Historica Hæresiologica*, tom. i. part II. p. 121.—CHR. AUG. HEUMANNI *Dissertat. de Bogomilis*.

by

by the traffic of *indulgences*, increasing from day to day, several pious, though weak men, who had the cause of CHRIST and of his religion at heart, easily perceived that both were in a most declining and miserable state, and therefore attempted a reformation in the church, in order to restore Christianity to its primitive purity and lustre. But the knowledge of these good men was not equal to their zeal, nor were their abilities in any proportion to the grandeur of their undertakings. The greatest part of them were destitute both of learning and judgment, and, involved in the general ignorance of the times, understood but very imperfectly the holy scriptures, from whence Christianity was derived, and by which the abuses that had been mingled with it could only be reformed. In a word, few of these well-meaning Christians were equal to an attempt so difficult and arduous as an universal reformation; and the consequence of this was, that, while they avoided the reigning abuses, they fell into others that were as little consistent with the genius of true religion, and carried the spirit of censure and reformation to such an excessive length, that it degenerated often into the various extravagancies of enthusiasm, and engendered a number of new sects, that became a new dishonour to the Christian cause.

CENT.
XII.
PART II.

IV. Among the sects that troubled the Latin church during this century, the principal place is due to the *Catharists*, whom we have had already occasion to mention [o]. This numerous faction, leaving their first residence, which was in *Bulgaria*, spread themselves throughout almost all the European provinces, where they occasioned much tumult and disorder; but their fate was unhappy; for, wherever they were caught, they were put to death with the most unrelenting cruelty [p]. Their religion resembled the doctrine of the Manichæans and Gnostics, on which account they commonly received the denomina-

The Cathari.

[o] See CENT. III. PART II. CH. V. § XVIII. but principally for that sort of *Catharists* here mentioned, see above CENT. XI. PART. II. CH. V. § II.

[p] See the accounts given of this unhappy and persecuted sect by CHARLES PLESSIS D'ARGENTRE, in his *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, tom. i. in which, however, several circumstances are omitted.

C E N T.
XII.
PART II.

tion of the former, though they differed from the genuine and primitive Manichæans in many respects. They all indeed agreed in the following points of doctrine: viz. That matter was the source of all evil; that the Creator of this world was a being distinct from the Supreme Deity; that CHRIST was not cloathed with a real body, neither could be properly said to have been born, or to have seen death; that human bodies were the production of the evil principle; and that baptism and the Lord's supper were useless institutions, destitute of all efficacy and power. They exhorted all who embraced their doctrine to a rigorous abstinence from animal food, wine, and wedlock, and recommended to them in the most pathetic terms the most severe acts of austerity and mortification. They moreover treated with the utmost contempt all the books of the *Old Testament*, but expressed a high degree of veneration for the *New*, particularly for the *Four Gospels*; and, to pass over many other peculiarities in their doctrine, they maintained, that human souls, endued with reason, were shut up by an unhappy fate in the dungeons of mortal bodies, from whence they could only be delivered by fasting, mortification, and continence of every kind [q].

The Catharists divided into two sects.

V. These principles and tenets, though they were adopted and professed by the whole sect, yet were differently interpreted and modified by different doctors. Hence the *Catharists* were divided into various sects, which, however, on account of the general persecution in which they were all involved, treated each other with candour and forbearance, disputed with moderation, and were thus careful not to augment their common calamity by intestine feuds and animosities. Out of these different factions arose two leading and principal sects of the *Catharists*, which were distinguished from the rest by the number of their respective followers, and the importance of their differences. The one approached pretty nearly to the Manichæan system, held the doctrine of *two eternal Beings*, from whom all things were derived, the *God of light*, who was also the

[q] Besides the writers which shall be mentioned presently, see the *Disputatio inter Catholicum et Paterinum*, published by MARTENE, in his *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 1703. as also BONACURSI *Manifestatio Hæresis Catharorum* in LUC. DACHERII *Spicilegio*, tom. i. p. 208.

father of JESUS CHRIST, and the *principle of darkness*, whom they considered as the author of the material world. The other believed in *one eternal principle*, the FATHER of CHRIST, and the Supreme God, by whom also they held that the *first matter* was created; but they added to this, that the *evil being*, after his rebellion against God and his fall from heaven, arranged this original matter according to his fancy, and divided it into four elements, in order to the production of this visible world. The former maintained, that CHRIST being clothed with a celestial body descended thus into the womb of the Virgin, and derived no part of his substance from her; while the latter taught, that he first assumed a real body in the womb of MARY, though not from her [r]. The sect, which held the doctrine of *two principles*, were called *Albanenses*, from the name of the place where their spiritual ruler resided; and this sect was subdivided into two, of which one took the name of BALAZINANSA, bishop of *Verona*, and the other that of JOHN DE LUGIO, bishop of *Bergamo*. The sect which adhered to the doctrine of *one eternal principle* was also subdivided into the congregation of *Baioli*, the capital town of the province, and that of *Concoregio*, or *Concorezzo*. The *Albigenses*, who were settled in *France*, belonged to the church or congregation of *Baioli* [s].

CENT.
XII.
PART II.

[r] See BERN. MONETA, in *summa adversus Catharos et Waldenses*, published at Rome, in the year 1743, by THOM. AUGUST. RICHINI, who prefixed to it a dissertation concerning the *Cathari*, that is by no means worthy of the highest encomiums. MONETA was no mean writer for the time in which he lived. See *Lib. i. p. 2. & 5. Lib. ii. p. 247, &c.*

[s] RAYNERI SACHONI *summa de Catharis et Leonistis* in MARTENE *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 1761. 1768—PEREGRINUS PRISCIANUS in MURATORII *Antiquit. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 93. who exhibits, in a sort of table, these different sects, but by a mistake places the *Albigenses*, who were a branch of the *Baiolenses*, in the place of the *Albanenses*; this, perhaps, may be an error of the press. The opinions of these *Baiolenses*, or *Bagnolenses*, may be seen in the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanae*, which LIMBORCH published with his *History of the Inquisition*. The account, however, which we have in that history (*Book I. Ch. VIII.*) of the opinions of the *Albigenses* is by no means accurate. A great variety of causes has contributed to involve in darkness and perplexity the distinctive characters of these different sects, whose respective systems we cannot enlarge upon at present.

CENT.
XII.
PART II.

VI. In the internal constitution of the church that was founded by this sect there were many rules and principles of a singular nature, which we pass over in silence, as they would oblige us to enter into a detail inconsistent with the brevity we propose to observe in this work. The government of this church was administered by *bishops*, and each bishop had two vicars, of whom one was called the *eldest son*, and the other the *younger*; while the rest of the clergy and doctors were comprehended under the general denomination of *deacons* [t]. The veneration, which the people had for the clergy in general, and more especially for the bishops and their spiritual sons, was carried to a length that almost exceeds credibility. The discipline observed by this sect was so excessively rigid and austere, that it was practicable only by a certain number of robust and determined fanatics. But that such as were not able to undergo this discipline might not, on that account, be lost to the cause, it was thought necessary, in imitation of the ancient Manichæans, to divide this sect into two classes, one of which was distinguished by the title of the *consolati*, i. e. *comforted*, while the other received only the denomination of *confederates*. The former gave themselves out for persons of consummate wisdom and extraordinary piety, lived in perpetual celibacy, and led a life of the severest mortification and abstinence, without ever allowing themselves the enjoyment of any worldly comfort. The latter, if we except a few particular rules which they observed, lived like the rest of mankind, but at the same time were obliged by a solemn agreement they had made with the church, and which, in Italian, they called *la convenenza*, to enter before their death, in their last moments, if not sooner, into the class of the *comforted*, and to receive the *consolamentum*, which was the form of inauguration by which they were introduced into that fanatical order [u].

The Petro-
brassians.

VII. A much more rational sect was that which was founded about the year 1110 in *Languedoc* and *Provence* by PETER DE BRUYS, who made the most laudable attempts to reform the abuses and to remove the superstitions that

[t] See SACHONI *summa de Catharis*, p. 1766.

[u] For a farther account of this sect, see the writers mentioned above, and particularly the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanae*.

disfigured

disfigured the beautiful simplicity of the gospel, and after having engaged in his cause a great number of followers, during a laborious ministry of twenty years continuance, was burnt at *St. Giles's*, in the year 1130, by an enraged populace, set on by the clergy, whose traffic was in danger from the enterprizing spirit of this new reformer. The whole system of doctrine, which this unhappy martyr, whose zeal was not without a considerable mixture of fanaticism, taught to the *Petrobrussians* his disciples, is not known; it is however certain, that the five following tenets made a part of his system; 1. That no persons whatever, were to be baptized before they were come to the full use of their reason. 2. That it was an idle superstition to build churches for the service of God, who will accept of a sincere worship wherever it is offered; and that therefore such churches as had already been erected were to be pulled down and destroyed. 3. That the crucifixes, as instruments of superstition, deserved the same fate. 4. That the real body and blood of Christ were not exhibited in the eucharist, but were merely represented, in that holy ordinance, by their figures and symbols. 5. and lastly, That the oblations, prayers, and good works of the living, could be in no respect advantageous to the dead [w].

VIII. This innovator was succeeded by another, who was an Italian by birth, and whose name was HENRY, the founder and parent of the sect called *Henricians*. It was, no doubt, a rare thing to see a person, who was at the same time monk and hermit, undertaking to reform the superstitions of the times; yet such was the case of HENRY, who leaving *Lausanne*, a city in *Switzerland*, travelled to *Mans*, and being banished thence removed successively to *Poitiers*, *Bordeaux*, and the countries adjacent, and at length to *Thoulouse* in the year 1147, exercising his ministerial function in all these places with the utmost applause from the people, and declaiming, with the greatest vehemence and fervor, against the vices of the clergy, and the superstitions they had introduced into the Christian church. At *Thoulouse* he was warmly opposed by St.

The Henricians.

[w] See PETRI *Venerab. Lib. contra Petrobrussianos in Bibliotheca Cluniensi*, p. 1117.—MABILLON, *Annal. Benedic.* tom. vi. p. 346.—BASNAGE, *Histoire des Eglises Reformées*, period. iv. p. 140.

CENT.
XII.
PART II.

BERNARD, by whose influence he was overpowered, notwithstanding his popularity, and obliged to save himself by flight. But being seized, in his retreat, by a certain bishop, he was carried before pope EUGENIUS III, who presided in person at a council then assembled at *Rheims*, and who, in consequence of the accusations brought against HENRY, committed him, in the year 1148, to a close prison, where, in a little time after this, he ended his days [x]. We have no accurate account of the doctrines of this reformer transmitted to our times. All we know of that matter is, that he rejected the baptism of infants; censured with severity the corrupt and licentious manners of the clergy; treated the festivals and ceremonies of the church with the utmost contempt; and held clandestine assemblies, in which he explained and inculcated the novelties he taught. Several writers affirm, that he was the disciple of PETER DE BRUYS; but I cannot see upon what evidence or authority this assertion is grounded [y].

The horrid
blasphemy
of Tanquelinus.

IX. While the Henricians were propagating their doctrines in *France*, a certain illiterate man, called TANQUELINUS, or TANQUELMUS, arose in *Brabant* about the year 1115, excited the most deplorable commotions at *Antwerp*, and drew after him a most numerous sect. If the accounts that are given us of this heresiarch by his adversaries may be at all depended upon, he must either have been a monstrous impostor, or an outrageous madman. For he walked in public with the greatest solemnity, pretended to be God, or, at least, the son of God, ordered daughters to be ravished in presence of their mothers, and committed himself the greatest disorders. Such are the enormities that are attributed to TANQUELMUS, but

[x] *Gesta Episcoporum Cenomanens.* in MABILLON, *Analect. veter.* ævi, p. 315. ed. Nov.—GAUFRIDI *Epistola in Lib. vi. Vita Sti. Bernardi*, tom. ii. Opp. *Bernhard.* p. 1207 —MATTH. *Histor. Major.* p. 71.—MABILLON, *Pref. ad Opera Bernardi*, § vi. & *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 346. 420. 434.

[y] That HENRY was the disciple of PETER DE BRUYS is not at all probable; since, not to insist upon other reasons, the latter could not bear the sight of a cross, and in all likelihood owed his death to the multitude of crucifixes which he had committed to the flames; whereas the former, when he entered into any city, appeared with a cross in his hand, which he bore as a standard, to attract the veneration of the people. See MABILLON, *Analecta*, p. 316.

they

they are absolutely incredible, and therefore cannot be true [z]. What seems most worthy of credit in this matter is, that this new teacher had imbibed the opinions and spirit of the Mystics; that he treated with contempt the external worship of God, the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and the rite of baptism; and held clandestine assemblies to propagate more effectually his visionary notions. But as, besides all this, he inveighed against the clergy, like the other heretics already mentioned, and declaimed against their vices with vehemence and intrepidity, it is probable that these blasphemies were falsely charged upon him by a vindictive priesthood. Be that as it may, the fate of TANQUELMUS was unhappy, for he was assassinated by an ecclesiastic in a cruel manner. His sect, however, did not perish with him, but acquired strength and vigour under the ministry of his disciples, until it was, at length, extinguished by the famous St. NORBERT, the founder of the order of *Præmonstratenses*, or *Premôntrés* [a].

CENT.
XII.
PART II.

X. In *Italy* ARNOLD of *Brescia*, a disciple of ABELARD, and a man of extensive erudition and remarkable austerity, but also of a turbulent and impetuous spirit, excited new troubles and commotions both in church and state. He was, indeed, condemned in the council of the Lateran, A. D. 1139, by INNOCENT II, and thereby obliged to retire into *Switzerland*; but, upon the death of that pontif, he returned into *Italy*, and raised at *Rome*, during the pontificate of EUGENIUS III, several tumults and seditions among the people, who changed, by his instigation, the government of the city, and insulted the persons of the clergy in the most disorderly manner. He fell however at last a victim to the vengeance of his enemies; for, after various turns of fortune, he was seized, in the year 1155, by a prefect of the city, by whom he was crucified, and afterwards burned to ashes. This unhappy man seems not to have adopted any doctrines inconsistent with the

Seditions excited in *Italy* by Arnold of *Brescia*.

[z] *Epistola Trajectens. Ecclesiæ ad Triddericum Episcopum de Tanchelmo*, in SEL. TENGNAGELII *Collectione Veterum Monumentor.* p. 368.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 98.—ARGENTRE, *Collectio Judicior. de rebus erroribus*, tom. i. p. 10.

[a] LEWIS HUBO, *Vie de S. Norbert*, *Livr.* II. p. 126.—CHRYSS. vander STERRE *Vita S. Norberti*, cap. xxxvi. p. 164. & POLYC. de HERTOGHE *ad illam Annotationes*, p. 387.

CENT.
XII.
PART II.

spirit of true religion ; and the principles upon which he acted were chiefly reprehensible from their being carried too far, applied without discernment and discretion, and executed with a degree of vehemence which was as criminal, as it was imprudent. Having perceived the discords and animosities, the calamities and disorders, that sprung from the overgrown opulence of the pontifs and bishops, he was persuaded that the interests of the church, and the happiness of nations in general required, that the clergy should be divested of all their worldly possessions, of all their temporal rights and prerogatives. He, therefore, maintained publicly, that the treasures and revenues of popes, bishops, and monasteries, ought to be solemnly resigned and transferred to the supreme rulers of each state, and that nothing was to be left to the ministers of the gospel but a spiritual authority and a subsistence drawn from tithes, and from the voluntary oblations and contributions of the people [b]. This violent reformer, in whose character and manners there were several things worthy of esteem, drew after him a great number of disciples, who derived from him the denomination of *Arnoldists*, and, in succeeding times, discovered the spirit and intrepidity of their leader, as often as any favourable opportunities of reforming the church were offered to their zeal.

The origin
and history
of the Wal-
denses.

XI. Of all the sects that arose in this century none was more distinguished by the reputation it acquired, by the multitude of its votaries, and the testimony which its bitterest enemies bore to the probity and innocence of its members, than that of the Waldenses, so called from their parent and founder PETER WALDUS. This sect was known by different denominations. From the place where it first appeared, its members were called *The poor men of Lions* [c], or *Leonists*, and, from the wooden shoes

[b] See OTTO *Frising. de gestis Frederici I*, lib. ii. cap. xx.—S. BERNHARDUS *Epist.* 195, 196. tom. i. p. 187.—BOULAY *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 157.—MURATORI *Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclesiastique*, p. 137.—HENR. de BUNAU *Vita Frederici I*, p. 41.—CHAUFEPIED *Nouveau Diction. Hist. Crit.* tom. ii. p. 482.

[c] They were called *Leonists* from *Leona*, the ancient name of *Lyons*, where their sect took its rise. The more eminent persons of that sect manifested their progress toward perfection by the simplicity and meanness of their external appearance. Hence, among other

which

which its doctors wore, and a certain mark that was imprinted upon these shoes, they were called *Insabbatati*, or *Sabbatati* [d]. The origin of this famous sect was as follows: PETER, an opulent merchant of *Lions*, surnamed *Valdensis*, or *Validissus*, from *Vaux*, or *Waldum*, a town in the marquisate of *Lions*, being extremely zealous for the advancement of true piety and Christian knowledge, employed a certain priest [e], about the year 1160, in translating from Latin into French the *Four Gospels*, with other books of Holy Scripture and the most remarkable sentences of the antient doctors, which were so highly esteemed in this century. But no sooner had he perused these sacred books with a proper degree of attention, than he perceived that the religion, which was now taught in the Roman church, differed totally from that which was originally inculcated by CHRIST and his apostles. Struck with this glaring contradiction between the doctrines of the pontiffs and the truths of the gospel, and animated with a pious zeal for promoting his own salvation and that of others, he abandoned his mercantile vocation, distributed his riches among the poor [f], and forming an association with other pious men, who had adopted his sentiments and his turn of devotion, he began, in the year 1180, to assume the quality of a public teacher, and to instruct the multitude in the doctrines and precepts of Christianity. The archbishop of *Lions*, and the other rulers of the church in that province, opposed, with vigour, this new doctor in the exercise of his ministry. But their opposition was unsuccessful; for the purity and simplicity of that religion which these good

things, they wore wooden shoes, which in the French language are termed *sabots*, and had imprinted upon these shoes the sign of the cross, to distinguish themselves from other Christians; and it was on these accounts that they acquired the denominations of *sabbatati* and *insabbatati*. See DU FRESNE *Glossarium Latin. mediæ ævi*, vi. voce *Sabbatati*, p. 4.—NICOL. EUMERICI *Directorium Inquisitorum*, part III. N. 112, &c.

[d] See STEPH. de BORBONE *De septem donis spiritus sancti*, in ECHARD & QUETIF *Bibliotheca Scriptor. Dominicanor.* tom. i. p. 192.—ANONYM. *Tractatio de Hæresi Pauperum de Lugduno*, in MARTENE *Thesauro Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 1777.

[e] This priest was called STEPHANUS DE EVISA.

[f] It was on this account that the Waldenses were called *Pauvres de Lions*, or *Poor men of Lions*.

C E N T.
XII.
PART II.

men taught, the spotless innocence that shone forth in their lives and actions, and the noble contempt of riches and honours which was conspicuous in the whole of their conduct and conversation, appeared so engaging to all such as had any sense of true piety, that the number of their disciples and followers increased from day to day [g].

[g] Certain writers give different accounts of the origin of the *Waldenses*, and suppose that they were so called from the *Vallies* in which they had resided for many ages before the birth of PETER WALDUS. But these writers have no authority to support this assertion, and, besides this, they are refuted amply by the best historians. I don't mean to deny, that there were in the *Vallies of Piedmont*, long before this period, a set of men, who differed widely from the opinions adopted and inculcated by the church of *Rome*, and whose doctrine resembled, in many respects, that of the *Waldenses*; all that I maintain is, that these inhabitants of the *Vallies* abovementioned are to be carefully distinguished from the *Waldenses*, who, according to the unanimous voice of history, were originally inhabitants of *Lyons*, and derived their name from PETER WALDUS, their founder and chief. We may venture to affirm the contrary, with the learned BEZA and other writers of note; for it seems evident from the best records, that VALDUS derived his name from the true *Valdenses* of *Piedmont*, whose doctrine he adopted, and who were known by the names of *Vaudois* and *Valdenses*, before he or his immediate followers existed. If the *Valdenses* or *Waldenses* had derived their name from any eminent teacher, it would probably have been from VALDO, who was remarkable for the purity of his doctrine in the IXth century, and was the cotemporary and chief counsellor of BERENGARIUS. But the truth is, that they derive their name from their *Vallies* in *Piedmont*, which in their language are called *Vaux*, hence *Vaudois*, their true name; hence PETER or (as others call him) JOHN of *Lyons*, was called in Latin *Valdus*, because he had adopted their doctrine; and hence the term *Valdenses* and *Waldenses* used by those, who write in English or Latin, in the place of *Vaudois*. The bloody Inquisitor REINERUS SACCO, who exerted such a furious zeal for the destruction of the *Waldenses*, lived but about 80 years after *Valdus* of *Lyons*, and must therefore be supposed to know whether or not he was the real founder of the *Valdenses* or *Leonists*; and yet it is remarkable that he speaks of the *Leonists* (mentioned by Dr. MOSHEIM in the preceding page 613, as synonymous with *Waldenses*) as a sect that had flourished above 500 years; nay mentions authors of note, who make their antiquity remount to the Apostolick age. See the account given of SACCO's book by the Jesuit GRETZER, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. I know not upon what principle Dr. MOSHEIM maintains, that the inhabitants of the *Vallies of Piedmont* are to be carefully distinguished from the *Waldenses*; and I am persuaded, that whoever will be at the pains to read attentively the 2d, 25th, 26th, and 27th chapters of the first book of LEGER's *Histoire Generale des Eglises Vaudaises*, will find this distinction entirely groundless.—When the Papists ask us where our Religion was before LUTHER? we generally

They

They accordingly formed religious assemblies, first in *France*, and afterwards in *Lombardy*, from whence they propagated their sect throughout the other provinces of *Europe* with incredible rapidity, and with such invincible fortitude, that neither fire, nor sword, nor the most cruel inventions of merciless persecution, could damp their zeal, or entirely ruin their cause [b].

XII. The attempts of PETER WALDUS and his followers were neither employed, nor designed to introduce new doctrines into the church, nor to propose new articles of faith to Christians. All they aimed at was, to reduce the form of ecclesiastical government, and the lives and manners both of the clergy and people, to that amiable simplicity, and that primitive sanctity, that characterized the apostolic ages, and which appear so strongly recommended in the precepts and injunctions of the divine author of our holy religion. In consequence of this design, they complained that the Roman church had degenerated, under CONSTANTINE the Great, from its primitive purity and sanctity. They denied the supremacy of the Roman pontif, and maintained that the rulers and ministers of the church were obliged, by their vocation, to imitate the poverty of the apostles, and to procure for themselves a subsistence by the work of their hands. They considered every Christian, as in a certain measure qualified and authorized to instruct, exhort, and confirm the brethren in their christian course, and demanded the restoration of

The doctrine, discipline, and views of the Waldenses.

answer: *in the Bible*; and we answer well. But to gratify their taste for *Tradition* and *human authority*, we may add to this answer, *and in the Vallies of Piedmont*.

[b] See the following ancient writers, who have given accounts of the sect in question, *to wit*, SACHONI *Summa contra Valdenses*.—MONETÆ *Summa contra Catharos et Valdenses*, published by RICHINI.—*Tr. de Hæresi Pauperum de Lugduno*, published by MARTENE, in his *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 1777.—PILICH-DORFFIUS *contra Valdenses*, t. xxv. B. B. Max. Patr.—Add to these authors, JO. PAUL PERRIN *Histoire des Vaudois*, published at Geneva in 1619.—JO. LEGER *Histoire Generale des Eglises Vaudoises*, livr. i. ch. xiv. p. 136.—USSERII *De Successione Ecclesiarum Occidentis*, cap. viii. p. 209.—JAC. BASNAGE *Histoire des Eglises Reformées*, tom. i. period. iv. p. 329.—THOM. AUGUST. RICHINI *Dissertat. de Valdensibus*, prefixed to his edition of the *Summa* MONETÆ, p. 36.—BOULAY *Histor. Acad. Paris*. tom. ii. p. 292.

CENT.
XII.
PART II.

the ancient penitential discipline of the church, *i. e.* the expiation of transgressions by prayer, fasting, and alms, which the new-invented doctrine of *indulgences* had almost totally abolished. They, at the same time, affirmed, that every pious Christian was qualified and entitled to prescribe to the penitent the kind and degree of *satisfaction* or expiation that their transgressions required; that confession made to priests was by no means necessary, since the humble offender might acknowledge his sins and testify his repentance to any true believer, and might expect from such the counsels and admonitions that his case and circumstances demanded. They maintained, that the power of delivering sinners from the guilt and punishment of their offences belonged to God alone; and that *indulgences*, of consequence, were the criminal inventions of sordid avarice. They looked upon the prayers, and other ceremonies that were instituted in behalf of the dead, as vain, useless, and absurd, and denied the existence of departed souls in an intermediate state of purification, affirming, that they were immediately, upon their separation from the body, received into heaven, or thrust down to hell. These and other tenets of a like nature composed the system of doctrine propagated by the Waldenses. Their rules of practice were extremely austere; for they adopted, as the model of their moral discipline, the Sermon of CHRIST on the mount, which they interpreted and explained in the most rigorous and literal manner, and, of consequence, prohibited and condemned in their society all wars, and suits of law, all attempts towards the acquisition of wealth, the inflicting of capital punishments, self-defence against unjust violence, and oaths of all kinds [i].

[i] See the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosane*, published by LIMBORCH, as also the *Summa MONETÆ contra Waldenses*, and the other writers of the Waldensian history. Though these writers are not all equally accurate, nor perfectly agreed about the number of doctrines that entered into the system of this sect, yet they are almost all unanimous in acknowledging the sincere piety and exemplary conduct of the Waldenses, and shew plainly enough that their intention was not to oppose the doctrines that were universally received among Christians, but only to revive the piety and manners of the primitive times, and to combat the vices of the clergy, and the abuses that had been introduced into the worship and discipline of the church.

XIII. The

XIII. The government of the church was committed, by the Waldenses, to *bishops* [k], *presbyters*, and *deacons*; for they acknowledged, that these three ecclesiastical orders were instituted by CHRIST himself. But they looked upon it as absolutely necessary, that all these orders should resemble exactly the apostles of the divine Saviour, and be, like them, illiterate, poor, destitute of all worldly possessions, and furnished with some laborious trade or vocation, in order to gain by constant industry their daily subsistence [l]. The laity were divided into two classes; one of which contained the *perfect*, and the other the *imperfect* Christians. The former spontaneously divested themselves of all worldly possessions, manifested, in the wretchedness of their apparel, their excessive poverty, and emaciated their bodies by frequent fasting. The latter were less austere, and approached nearer to the method of living generally received, though they abstained, like the graver sort of anabaptists in later times, from all appearance of pomp and luxury. It is, however, to be observed, that the Waldenses were not without their intestine divisions. Such of them as lived in *Italy* differed considerably in their opinions from those who dwelt in *France* and the other European nations. The former considered the church of *Rome* as the church of CHRIST, though much corrupted and sadly disfigured; they acknowledged moreover the validity of its seven sacraments, and solemnly declared that they would continue always in communion with it, provided they might be allowed to live as they thought proper, without molestation or restraint. The latter affirmed, on the contrary, that the church of *Rome* had apostatized from CHRIST, was deprived of the holy spirit, and was, in reality, that *whore of Babylon* mentioned in the *Revelations of St. JOHN* [m].

[k] The bishops were also called *maiores*, or *elders*.

[l] The greatest part of the *Waldenses* gained their livelihood by weaving; hence the whole sect in certain places were called the *sect of weavers*.

[m] MONETÆ *Summa contra Catharos et Valdenses*, p. 406, 416, &c. They seem to have been also divided in their sentiments concerning the possession of worldly goods, as appears from the accounts of STEPHANUS DE BORBONE, in ECHARDI *Scriptoribus Dominicanis*, tom. i. p. 191. This writer divides the *Waldenses* into two classes; *The poor men of Lions*, and *The poor men of Lombardy*.

C E N T.

XII.

P A R T II.

Sects of a
less eminent
kind.
The Pasagi-
ni.

The Capu-
tiati.

XIV. Besides these famous sects, which made a great noise in the world, and drew after them multitudes from the bosom of a corrupt and superstitious church, there were other religious *factions* of lesser importance, which arose in *Italy*, and more especially in *France*, though they seem to have expired soon after their birth [n]. In *Lombardy*, which was the principal residence of the Italian heretics, there sprung up a very singular sect, known by the denomination of *Pasaginians* [o], and also by that of the *circumcised*. Like the other sects already mentioned, they had the utmost aversion to the dominion and discipline of the church of *Rome*; but they were, at the same time, distinguished by two religious tenets that were peculiar to themselves. The first was a notion, that the observation of the law of *Moses*, in every thing except the offering of sacrifices, was obligatory upon Christians, in consequence of which they circumcised their followers, abstained from those meats, the use of which was prohibited under the Mosaic œconomy, and celebrated the Jewish Sabbath. The second tenet that distinguished this sect was advanced in opposition to the doctrine of three persons in the divine nature; for the *Pasaginians* maintained that *CHRIST* was no more than the *first and purest creature of God*; nor will their adopting this opinion seem so surprising, if we consider the prodigious number of Arians that were scattered throughout *Italy* long before this period of time [p].

XV. A set of fanatics, called *Caputiati*, from a singular kind of cap that was the badge of their faction, infested the province of *Burgundy*, the diocese of *Auxerre*, and several other parts of *France*, in all which places they excited much disturbance among the people. They wore upon their caps a leaden image of the Virgin *MARY*, and

The former rejected and prohibited all sorts of possessions; the latter looked upon worldly possessions as lawful. This distinction may be also confirmed by several passages of other ancient authors.

[n] For an account of these obscurer sects, see *STEPHANUS DE BORBONE*, in *ECHARDI Scriptoribus Dominicanis*, tom. i. p. 191.

[o] The origin of the name of *Pasagini*, or *Pasagii*, is not known.

[p] See *F. BONACURSI Manifestatio hæresis Catharorum*, in *LUC. DACHERII SPICILEGIO Veter. Scriptor.* tom. i. p. 211. edit. nov.—*GERHARD BERGAMENSIS contra Catharos et Pasagios*, in *LUD. ANTON. MURATORII Antiqq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 151.

they

they declared publicly, that their purpose was to level all distinctions, to abrogate magistracy, to remove all subordination among mankind, and to restore that primitive liberty, that natural equality that were the inestimable privileges of the first mortals. HUGO, bishop of *Auxerre*, attacked these disturbers of human society in the proper manner, employing against them the force of arms, instead of arguments [q].

The sect of the *apostolics*, whom St. BERNARD opposed with such bitterness and fury, and who were so called, as that zealous abbot himself acknowledged, because they professed to exhibit in their lives and manners the piety and virtues of the holy apostles, were very different from the audacious heretics now mentioned. They were a clownish set of men, of the lowest birth, who gained their subsistence by bodily labour; and yet no sooner did they form themselves into a sect, than they drew after them a multitude of adherents of all ranks and orders. Their religious doctrine, as St. BERNARD confesses, was free from error, and their lives and manners were irreproachable and exemplary. Yet they were reprehensible, on account of the following peculiarities: 1. They held it unlawful to take an oath. 2. They suffered their hair and their beards to grow to an enormous length, so that their aspect was inexpressibly extravagant and savage. 3. They preferred celibacy before wedlock, and called themselves the *chaste brethren and sisters*. Notwithstanding which, 4. Each man had a spiritual sister with him, after the manner of the apostles, with whom he lived in a domestic relation, lying in the same chamber with her, though not in the same bed [r].

XVI. In the council, which was assembled at *Rheims* in the year 1148, and at which pope EUGENIUS III presided, a certain gentleman of the province of *Bretagne*, whose name was EON, and whose brain was, undoubtedly, disordered, was condemned for pretending to be the son of God. Having heard, in the form that was used for exorcising malignant spirits, these words pronounced: *per*

Eon, a
wrong-
headed fan-
atic.

[q] JAC. LE BOEUF, *Memoires sur l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. i. p. 317.

[r] St. BERNHARDUS, *Sermo LXV, in Canticum*, tom. iv. Opp. p. 1495. edit. *Mabillon*.

CENT.
XII.
PART II.

EUM, *qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos*, he concluded, from the resemblance that there was between the word EUM, and his name, that he was the person who was to come and judge both quick and dead. This poor man should rather have been delivered over to the physicians, than placed in the list of heretics. He ended his days in a miserable prison, and left a considerable number of followers and adherents, whom persecution and death in the most dreadful forms could not persuade to abandon his cause, or to renounce an absurdity, which one would think could never have gained credit, but in such a place as Bedlam [s]. This remarkable example is sufficient to shew, not only the astonishing credulity of the stupid multitude, but also how far even the rulers of the church were destitute of judgment, and strangers to the knowledge of true and genuine religion.

[s] MATTH. PARIS, *Historia Major*, p. 68.—GUIL. NEUBRIGENSIS, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, lib. i. p. 50.—BOULAY, *Historia Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 241.

The END of the SECOND VOLUME.



